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- ART. I. — 1. *Proposta di alcune Correzioni ed Aggiunti al Vocabolario della Crusca* [di VINCENZO MONTI]. In 3 Volumi. Milano : 1817—1824. 8vo.
2. *Storia d'Italia*, di CARLO BOTTA. In 14 Volumi. 8vo.
3. *Elementi di Filosofia*, di PASQUALE GALUPPI. In 5 Volumi. 12mo.
4. *Collezione degli Scritti sulla Dottrina della Ragione*, di GRANDOMENICO ROMAGNOSI. In 2 Volumi. 8vo.

THE forms of national developement are as various as the features of national character. Essentially the same in their origin and in their progress, they both should be judged by the same laws and studied upon the same principles. The first step is the collection of facts ; and, after this preparation, we are at liberty to follow out our conclusions to the utmost extent, that the rules of sober induction will warrant. The action of similar causes upon material objects is necessarily followed by similar results. And if this principle, the source of such sublime discoveries in physical science, has not as yet been applied with equal success to the investigation of intellectual phenomena, the failure must be attributed not to the law itself, but to the peculiar nature of the subject to which our observations are directed. An object seen at a distance, and through the mist and haze of evening, may

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assume a form different from its own, and give rise to deceptions, which nothing but a nearer approach can remove. But, to dissipate the mists and delusions of the mind ; to bring the eye of intellect close to its own operations ; and then direct it, purified and strengthened by this internal study, to the examination of men and of nations, acting upon a broad field and swayed by every variety of motives, some peculiar to the individual and some to the epoch, is a task, which philosophy, although she has labored for ages, has thus far but imperfectly accomplished.

In part, however, her labors have not been fruitless, and some laws have been discovered of sufficiently sure and general application to warrant the use of them as of fixed and undeniable truths. Among these the first, both in order and in importance, is that far-reaching principle, which, in judging of nations, refers to the state of their intellectual culture as the test and token of their destiny. Other forms of development are more immediately dependent upon external causes. Agriculture may prosper or languish, according as it is favored or discouraged by the division of the soil and the views of the government. Manufactures and commerce are the products of situation and of circumstances ; and all of these, although they furnish important data for the study of nations, should be considered as effects, rather than as causes. But poetry, philosophy, art, proceed directly and solely from the mind, and afford, if rightly studied, unerring testimonials of the nature of their source. Circumstances may favor their growth, but cannot create them. Their source lies deep below the surface ; and, whether it pour forth a broad and sweeping stream, or glide in silence through the retired vale and unfrequented recesses of life, the springing flower and verdant bank reveal the secrets of its course.

If the application of this principle be as extensive as we have supposed, it necessarily follows, that in those countries, which are politically dependent, the state and tendency of intellectual pursuits is almost the only standard by which their character and their hopes can be estimated. Of all that they possess, their literature is the only treasure that they can truly call their own. Here alone the mind is free to follow its own impulses. Here the poet may utter laments which all others must suppress, and the philosopher nearly forget the

miseries of the present as he weaves with his own hand a brighter wreath into the inevitable destinies of his country.

It is with a firm conviction of the soundness of the principle which we have advanced, that we venture to invite the attention of our readers, to a general view of the state and direction of studies in Italy, during the first thirty-eight years of the present century. And, if we should succeed in placing this subject in a clearer light, and one more honorable to the Italians, than it is generally represented in, we shall feel better entitled to call upon our countrymen to pause and weigh their judgment of a country which receives them with marked partiality ; which breathes its reviving air into the very hearts of their sick and their wearied ; which stores their memories with ennobling recollections ; and which only asks of them in return, that they should not judge her in haste or in prejudice, or that at least they should draw a veil over her errors, and drop a tear at the tale of her misfortunes.

There are many facts in general as well as in individual history, which derive much of their importance from the circumstances under which they occur. Even trifles become interesting when they serve as indications of character. What can seem more ridiculous than a Demosthenes in his vault, his head half shorn, and wasting day and night in the servile copying of the writings of another ? or on the seashore, straining his voice until it became audible amidst the dash and roar of the waves ? But what more sublime than the same Demosthenes in the presence of the multitude, guiding at will the impetuous torrent of human passion, and calling into life, by the force of his eloquence, feelings long lost in sloth and in corruption ? And, to bring the comparison more directly to the subject before us, what can appear more trivial, than that grave men should have passed the most precious years of life in the study of words and phrases, carefully sifting idiom from idiom, and apparently with no higher aim than correctness of diction ? But if it be true, that the loss of national idiom is the lowest point of degradation to which a people can sink ; that, when every other tie has been dissolved, language forms a bond of union even for the coldest and most insensible ; and that there is something so peculiar in the character of every tongue as to preserve a cast of nationality even amid all the diversities of individual style ; this

study of words becomes the most powerful expression of the love of country.

It is difficult to fix with precision, the epoch, in which the Italian language had reached the lowest state of corruption to which it has ever fallen, or to name, indeed, any period, in which the study of it in its purity has not been pursued with a certain share of success. Even during the last century we find writers, who, for force, grace, and purity of expression, are deservedly ranked with the first names of her literature ; and, what is of still more importance for the light in which we are viewing the subject, men not less distinguished for the intrinsic value than for the elegance of their productions.

But the example of a few individuals, however eminent, was not sufficient to put a full stop to the progress of corruption. The multitude continued to speak and to write as if a mere change of words were a change of language. A society of lively and ingenious philosophers, the celebrated authors of the *Caffè*, undertook to defend their principles with the weapons of wit, of satire, and of philosophy. Even they who tried hardest and wrote with most care, could not always avoid those foreign infusions of thought and manner which tinctured the productions of their contemporaries ; and, that nothing might be wanting to make the triumph complete, the art of corruption was reduced to general laws, and the student taught how far, and according to what rules, he might take the formation of his language into his own hands. The defence of their antagonists was often feeble, always dry ; and what, indeed, could they reply to the odious appellation of *purist* and *pedant* ; that logic of general terms, which so happily comprises in one sweeping appellation whatever you choose to attribute to your adversary of ludicrous or of vile. This controversy was continued with unabated bitterness through the first twenty years of the present century ; nor, during any portion of that period, would it have been possible to say, on which side the balance would eventually turn. A fortunate union of rare and diversified talent has at length brought it to a point, which, if it does not amount to a positive decision, has at least placed it in its true light, and leaves but little to apprehend for the future.

It is not so much with a view to the order of merit, as to that of time, that we place first in our catalogue the name of

Antonio Cesari. This indefatigable philologist was born in Verona, on the 18th of January, 1760. An early propensity to retirement called him to the cloister, and at the age of eighteen he assumed the robe of the congregation of the Oratorio. If the life of a man of letters be proverbially monotonous, what can be expected of one who, to the quiet of the study, added the still deeper seclusion of the convent? The shocks and turmoil of an age of revolutions produced but a transient change in the pursuits of Cesari. He was absorbed in the study of his beloved *trecentisti*. To renew that golden period of the Italian language, he labored night and day through the whole of a protracted life. He composed, he compiled, he translated, he edited. And when, at the close of his career, he looked around upon what he had proposed and upon what he had accomplished, we would venture to say, that he died contented; for his task was done, and his harvest was white for the reaper. He died on the 1st of October, 1828.

Contemporary with Cesari, at times his friend and at others his foe, but still concurring with him, although upon different principles, in the same undertaking, was the celebrated Vincenzo Monti. Poet, critic, philologist, impetuous in his feelings, and no less so in the expression of them; with an imagination which seemed to glow by its own spontaneous action, and a richness of language and of imagery which, notwithstanding the severity of his taste, sometimes degenerated into exuberance; nothing was wanting to the success of Monti, but that he should have been born in an epoch less rigid in its requirements, and more disposed to pardon the sins of the imagination. He began his studies with what he always considered as the fountain head of Italian eloquence, the study of Latin; and it was thus that he laid the foundation of that pure taste, which, in an age of almost universal corruption, led him back to the classics of his native tongue. Some juvenile compositions, already distinguished by their departure from the prevailing style of the period, won him the favor and protection of Cardinal Borghese, by whose invitation and under whose auspices he removed to Rome. It was at this period, and before he had completed his nineteenth year, that his poetical career may be said to have had its beginning; and his reputation, supported by various productions, one, at least,

of which may still be classed among the most beautiful of his poems, went on rapidly increasing, until the publication of the "Aristodem" and the "Bassvilliana" placed him among the first poets of his age.

Although he had been the eulogist of Pius the Sixth, and had branded, in the indignant verses of the "Bassvilliana," the wild excesses of the French revolution, Monti, young, enthusiastic, and fresh from the study of the ancients, was easily led astray by those brilliant hopes, which, if they had deceived the cool, the calculating, and the philosophic, could hardly fail to dazzle one who had no other guide than his imagination and his heart. After the fall of the Cisalpine Republic he was constrained to seek a refuge in Savoy; and one who was a sharer in them has described to us the horrors of that exile. It was in a beautiful grove near Chamberry, that he composed the greater part of the "Mascheroniana" and the "Cajo Gracco"; works which breathe a stern and masculine eloquence and a tone of elevated thought to which he never afterwards attained. Restored once more to his native land by the battle of Marengo, he passed through various offices, all of them literary. He was professor at Pavia; connected with the ministry of the interior, for the direction of literature and the arts; and finally, poet-laureate and royal historiographer. During this last period he completed the translation of the "Iliad." Upon the fall of Napoleon, he was again compelled to tune his lyre in unison with the new order of things; nor did he do it with all that dignity and reserve, which the world requires in so great a man. It was shortly after the return of the Austrians, that he began the "Proposta"; a work arid and fatiguing from its subject, but which the magic of his style and the profoundness of his philosophy render attractive even to those, who have but little taste for the questions which it treats. The controversies to which this work gave rise, must have embittered the last years of his life, although on no occasion had the triumph of his genius been more complete. But the heaviest blow that he received, since it was one for which he could find no compensation in his literary fame, was the loss of his son-in-law and fellow-laborer, the Count Giulio Perticari. Towards the close of his days, he resumed a work which he had planned many years before, and in which he had undertaken to celebrate

the labors of Pius the Sixth in the Pontine Marshes. An apoplectic fit, with which he was seized in the month of April, 1826, found him near the termination of his poem; but, although he continued to live until October of 1838, it was rather as a long farewell to life, than life itself.

The Count Giulio Perticari was born at Savignano, on the 15th of August, 1779, and died on the 26th of June, 1822. He filled several offices, municipal as well as literary, but the greater part of his brief career was devoted to letters. His connexion with Monti, whose daughter he had married, was probably the immediate cause of the active part he took in the great philological dispute of his age; and the two treatises, which fill parts of the first and second volumes of the "*Proposta*," are his best claim to the thanks of posterity.

We have thus grouped together the three principal promoters of the reform of the Italian language. Strict justice would require the mention of several others who bore an almost equal part in the same noble enterprise; Botta, whose example has done what could never have been accomplished by precept alone; Giordani, Colombo, Grassi, Niccolini, Costa, to say nothing of the mere grammarians and an infinity of others, who wrote in the controversy of the "*Proposta*." This long contest, unlike most literary disputes, must be judged by its results; and to those who, considering it from this point of view, compare the actual state of the Italian language with the degradation and the corruption into which it had fallen during the last two centuries, it will be evident, that there has been a general return to purity of idiom, and, through this, to purity of taste, which can be attributed to no other cause. No Italian would venture at the present day to hazard such opinions as degrade many of the pages of the *Caffè*, and few, if any, now dare to present themselves to the public, without having studied long and deeply in the classics of their native tongue. How far this study, how far the meditation of Dante, of Machiavelli, of Guicciardini, of Galileo, and the others of that bright constellation of immortals who have enriched the world with the purest models of thought and of expression, will contribute towards the formation of a pure Italian and national tone of thinking and of language, is a question too easily solved to require any illustration of ours.

The study of history is the second branch to which we

should refer, as indicative of the actual state of letters in Italy ; and here, again, we shall select a few names, though at the hazard of passing over many almost equally deserving of mention.

And in the first rank we shall place a work which, while it serves as a proof of the general correctness of our position, serves at the same time as a striking confirmation of what we had occasion to advance in a former paper, concerning the nature of the love which an Italian bears for literature.* We mean to speak of the "*Documenti di Storia Italiana*," of Giuseppe Molini. Such of our readers as have visited Florence will probably remember the bookstore of this gentleman. Some of them, perhaps, may remember Molini himself, his open, strongly-marked countenance, his rare intelligence, and the prompt delight with which he unfolds the treasures of his bibliographical lore for the guidance and instruction of every inquirer. But few know him as a scholar of merit, and as a judicious and patient collector of the historical records of his country. Such, however, he has proved himself in the two volumes to which we refer, and as such, he deserves to be classed among the lasting benefactors of Italian history.

The two volumes which compose the collection of Molini, contain four hundred and fifty-eight documents, all of which he copied with his own hand from the originals, which lie scattered through the immense libraries of Paris. They consist of letters both public and private, despatches, treaties, and general and special instructions, extending from 1404 to 1572, one of the most eventful epochs of modern story. This important accession to the materials of Italian history has become doubly valuable, through the labors of the Marquis Gino Capponi, of Florence. The exact and luminous annotations, which he has affixed to each document, can be duly estimated by those alone who have been engaged in similar investigations ; but no one can read them, and more particularly the magnificent dissertation upon Andrea Doria, and the causes and the effects of his emancipation of Genoa, without being convinced, that, should the health of the noble author be spared, we shall ere long be able to add one more name, and that of the highest order, to the imperishable roll of Italian historians.

* *North American Review*, Vol.

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Another work, singularly illustrative of the zeal with which the Italians of the present age have devoted themselves to the study of history in its sources, is the history of the celebrated families of Italy, by the Count Pomponio Litta ; a work still in the course of publication, and which, from the immensity of the field over which it spreads, the profound and perplexing researches upon which it is based, and the completeness and accuracy of its execution, would seem beyond the compass of any single life.

Yet these works are but the materials of history, which philosophy, power of narration, and skill in portraying character, can alone render pleasing and instructive to the general reader. And in this department no age of Italian literature stands higher than the present. This portion of our subject is one of peculiar interest, and requires more ample illustration.

Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo Botta was born at San Giorgio Canavese, in Piedmont, on the 6th of November, 1766. His father was Ignatius Botta ; the family name of his mother was Boggio. He received the first rudiments of his education in his native village, and under the eye of his parents ; discovering at a very early period a decided taste for study, and a singular facility in learning languages. The dialects spoken in Piedmont, are, as our readers are doubtless aware, among the most corrupt of all Italy, so that the necessity of studying as a foreign tongue, the only language in which they can hope to earn distinction as writers, is, with the Piedmontese, superadded to the ordinary difficulties of elementary studies.* Fortunately for Botta, the class books then in use in the royal schools of Piedmont, were enriched with many judicious selections from the purest Tuscan authors, well suited to catch the attention of a child of quick parts ; so that, with his natural propensity to the study of language, he could hardly fail to imbibe that fondness for purity of diction, which it is so difficult to acquire in any but the earlier periods of life. In him this taste was confirmed by the lessons of Tenivelli, his master in rhetoric, to whose memory he has consecrated one of the most touching episodes in his history of Italy. Having

* The same observation applies to almost every other part of Italy, except Tuscany and Rome.

completed his course of rhetoric, he entered the class of philosophy in Turin, where he continued two years, until his admission into the provincial college of that capital. He there devoted himself to the study of medicine, a science which might almost be called hereditary in his family, for it had been the profession of his ancestors for three successive generations. Of all the subsidiary branches of medical science, that which most attracted his attention was botany ; a partiality, which he in a great measure attributed to the lessons of Ignazio Molineri, at that time director of the botanical garden of Turin. His progress in it also would seem to have been more than ordinary, as far, at least, as can be judged from the descriptions in his "*History of Corfu*," the only work in which he was led by the nature of his subject to scientific investigations. But other cares and studies of a very different order engaged his maturer years ; and though, towards the close of his life, he still spoke of it with fondness, and as the source of many youthful pleasures, as a science he had nearly forgotten it.

Nor did he allow himself to be induced, by the gravity of his professional pursuits, to neglect the cultivation of his taste in writing, and the study of the Italian classics. Redi, himself a physician as well as a profound naturalist, and who has embellished even his driest researches with the charms of a graceful and lively style, became an especial favorite with Botta, who, although he never attempted to imitate the sprightliness and vivacity of that charming writer, drew from the constant meditation of his works a propriety of terms and elegance of expression in treating of common topics, of which he could nowhere have found a more perfect model. The higher qualities of eloquence, variety, and richness of diction, skill in the modulation of his periods, the power of adapting his manner to the subject, of bending language to the workings of his own feelings, and thus of acting, through this most flexible yet most difficult of materials, upon the feelings of others, he studied in Boccaccio and in Machiavelli ; though all who have read him will acknowledge, that the characteristic attributes of his style, as of that of all great writers, were derived from those of his own mind. His method of reading was peculiar, and shows his fixed determination to obtain command of all the riches of his native tongue. His copies

of Machiavelli, of Boccaccio, and, in short, of all his favorite authors, were carefully underlined. Not a word, not a phrase that he thought worthy of remark, was allowed to escape him. This system was carried out into all his reading, and by means of this he succeeded, in spite of the numerous disadvantages under which he labored, in making himself master of so great a variety of forms, that he could always render, in new and striking language, even his slightest shades of thought. The "*Commentari Bibliografici*," a literary journal, which was then publishing at Turin, and to which he contributed, afforded him the first opportunities of trying his strength as a writer ; and that he succeeded, at least to the satisfaction of his companions, may be fairly assumed from the fact of his having been chosen to compose in their name, the letter, which, in a moment of youthful enthusiasm, they addressed to the celebrated Paesiello upon his opera of "*Nina*."

At the age of twenty he took his degrees in medicine, and three years afterwards was chosen member of the medical college. Happy could he have continued the peaceful exercise of a profession that he loved. But the stormy period of the French revolution was at hand. Placed on the very verge of the precipice, the Piedmontese government stood trembling and terror-struck, yet unable to avoid the fall. An empty treasury, and discontented subjects, are but poor resources on the eve of a revolution. The principles which were receiving so terrific a developement in France, worked their way into Piedmont, in spite of the zealous precautions of power. But with them came the evils of all similar epochs, jealousy, suspicion, spies, and false accusations. Poor Botta was one of the first to feel their effects. He was accused of republicanism, arrested, and held in close confinement in the public prison. Cut off in the spring of life, not only from the society of his friends, but from the hopes of youth, subjected to long and perplexing examinations, where a false step, a single mistake, might bring him to the scaffold ; condemned to drag on day after day, in the cold, gloomy, heart-sickening solitude of a dungeon, had his mind been cast in a common mould, it would have sunk under the pressure of such accumulated misfortunes. As it was, the iron entered deep into his soul, and, even at the distance of forty years, it was but seldom, and with evident pain, that he reverted to

those days of trial. The companions of his solitude, and his sole consolation, were a copy of Guicciardini, a treatise of mathematics, and *Tristram Shandy*. It was to this epoch, and to the assiduous study of the great Florentine, that he ever afterwards attributed the origin of his passion for history. Meanwhile the exertions of his friends were unremitted. No means were left untried, whether of influence or of entreaty. But all was unavailing. They could not even obtain the privilege of visiting him ; and the doubts and uncertainty, in which he was left to languish, were not among the least of his misfortunes. There was one being, however, whose feelings neither bars nor chains could repress, nor the damps of a dungeon chill. Even the turnkey, hardened by long experience to every variety of woe, was won by her generous devotion, and twice during his captivity was Botta consoled by the visits of his intrepid friend. They alone, who know what Europe then was, can appreciate such an instance of devoted affection.

At length, after a rigorous confinement of eighteen months, his innocence was satisfactorily established, and he was set at liberty. His accuser, one of his former fellow-students and companions, fully convicted of false accusation, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Yet, though his innocence had been recognised, Turin was no longer a safe residence for one on whom the jealous eye of government had once been fixed ; and, in the struggle which was rapidly approaching, what hopes could there be for a young man but just escaped from the scaffold, and dependent upon his profession for support ? By the advice of his friends he retired into France, and was almost immediately employed as a physician to the army of the Alps.

Here, while actively engaged in the duties of his office, his mind began to yield more sensibly to the bias it had received from the study of Guicciardini. A great question was in agitation before and around him ; and, whatever might be the final decision, it could not but be fraught with important lessons to humanity. It was in the camp, surrounded by the rough and fearless soldiers of the revolution, sharing in the perils of their marches, in the hardships and fatigues of their encampments, that he first studied the scenes and the events, which he afterwards reproduced with such thrilling reality in

his history of his own times. When the army of the Alps had forced its way into Italy, under the guidance of Bonaparte, Botta revisited his native land, and there, in the intervals of professional engagements, and in the classic retreat of Pavia, he composed his first work, a plan for the government of Lombardy; a work remarkable for the same independence of spirit, and attachment to the positive and the possible, which distinguished all his subsequent productions. Ardent as was his imagination, he never was a slave to it; and, whatever judgment be passed upon the substance of his opinions, every one must confess, that they were purely his own, and always announced with the frank confidence of sincere conviction. We have had the opportunity, and, well or ill, have availed ourselves of it, of comparing many of the opinions which he uttered at this epoch in the freedom of familiar correspondence, with those which he has recorded in his maturer productions. We have found many changes in his judgments of individuals, some in his hopes of the future, but none in his firm belief in the holiness of those principles around whose banner so large a portion of Europe seemed to have rallied, with a firm resolution to work out their triumph at every hazard.

Towards the close of 1796 he was sent with a division of the army to the Venetian Islands of the Levant, where he wrote his "*Storia Naturale e Medica dell' Isola di Corfù.*" In 1798, the government of Piedmont was overthrown, and the royal family driven into exile. Joubert, to whom the execution of this disgraceful act had been confided by the Directory, and whose virtues certainly deserved a nobler recompense, did all that he could to favor the interests of the country intrusted to his care. It was in this view that he formed a provisional government, composed of native Italians, of which Botta, who was at that time with the army in Valtellina, and was not personally known to the general, was made a member. But that was not the moment, in which a lover of his country, however profound his knowledge, or however ardent his zeal, would have asked to serve her. The aims of the French government were directed to the acquisition, not to the emancipation, of Piedmont; and the only reward of those, whose services it saw fit to employ as a disguise for its real designs, was that of all who act with

sincerity where deceit is wished for and expected, the loss of the esteem of their fellow-citizens, and of the confidence of their masters. A series of new revolutions ensued. The provisional government gave place to the government of the *reunion*. Then came the Austro-Russian invasion, — the oppression of royalists succeeding to the oppression and peculation of pretended republicans. New armies poured down the Alps to sustain the tottering cause of French independence. Battle followed battle in rapid succession. Meanwhile the plains of Piedmont, a prey to successive devastations, her population thinned by the sword, and her fertile places made desolate, presented on every side one unvaried aspect of haggard want.

Botta, like all those who had been connected either by opinion or by act with the late government, was compelled once more to seek safety under a foreign sky ; and it was at this period, that he first met the poet Monti during his exile at Chamberry. We have not space to enter into the details of this epoch, or paint the sad communion, the solitary walks of the two exiles, whose names were to adorn so bright a page in the history of their country. Fortunately for Botta, his former services had not been forgotten, and Bernadotte, then minister of war, restored him to his post of physician to the army of the Alps.

At length the banners of France again appeared in Italy, under the guidance of their youthful leader, and the battle of Marengo decided for fourteen years the destinies of the fairest portion of Europe. Upon the reëstablishment of the French power in Piedmont, Botta was called to take an active part in the new government, first as member of the "Consulta," then of the "Executive Committee," and finally of the "Board for the general Administration of Piedmont." We shall mention but one act of this portion of his public life. Among the prisoners still languishing in the dungeons of Turin, was the former friend of Botta, he whose false accusation had been the original cause of all his misfortunes. Botta, president in 1801 of the Executive Committee, restored his enemy to freedom, and signed with his own hand the decree for his liberation. In 1803, upon the final union of Piedmont to France, he was sent as a member of the deputation, chosen to thank the French government for the act of union, and

from that period he seems to have looked upon Paris as his home. Shortly after his arrival there, he published his "*Précis Historique de la Maison de Savoie et du Piémont.*"

We hasten to bring to a close this brief abstract of his public life. On the 10th of August, 1804, he was chosen member of the legislature for the department of the Doria ; and on the 28th of October, 1809, was made Vice-President, and again reëlected to the same office in the following year. In December he became a candidate for the questorship ; but, having indulged in some expressions upon the course of government, which were disagreeable to the Emperor, was set aside by express command. On the 3d of January of the next year, he was sent by the Academy of Turin as a member of the deputation chosen to present to Napoleon, in their name, the two last volumes of their memoirs.

The duties of these situations, as is well known to every one acquainted with the history of those days, were merely nominal. This period was dedicated by Botta to those pursuits, which, hitherto, he had only been able to cultivate in moments snatched from graver and less genial occupations. He was already known as an author, and that advantageously, but had not as yet found a subject suited to the display of his wonderful powers of description and narration, and of those stores of practical philosophy, which he had drawn from his brief but rough experience of life.

The first idea of his history of the American Revolution was suggested by a conversation that took place in the house of Madame Manzoni, or as the Italians, out of reverence to the memory of her father, called her, Madama Beccaria. The choicest society in Paris met in the rooms of this lady, and it may readily be supposed that Botta was of the number. One evening the conversation chanced to fall upon the great events of modern history, and their adaptation to epic poetry. The discussion was long and animated, and scarce an event but found its advocate ; but it was at last unanimously decided in favor of our Revolution, as furnishing, of all others, the characters and the incidents most worthy of the sublimity of the epic. Botta returned homewards absorbed in the consideration of the evening's debate. His way led him through that square in the rear of the Tuileries, the name of which is so closely associated with the most horrid excesses of

the French Revolution. "Why," said he to himself, "if it be a fit subject for a poem, should it not be fitter still for a history?" He was pausing unawares near the spot, which a few years before had been wet with the blood of a king, a queen, and the long line of victims of the reign of terror. "It is," said he; "and I will write it." From that moment he devoted himself, with enthusiastic ardor, to the collection of documents, of maps, of books, of private remarks and journals, of whatever, in short, could illustrate the event and give interest and authenticity to his narrative; and in 1809 his work was presented to the public in four volumes, octavo. The concluding pages of the last book, in which he had undertaken to examine the causes which gave to our Revolution an issue so different from that of similar attempts in other countries, were suppressed by the Imperial censor, and have never been published.

This work attracted from its first appearance universal attention, and was immediately reprinted in Italy. The charm of a narrative sustained with unabated vigor through four entire volumes, the poetic warmth of the descriptions, the glowing eloquence of the whole composition, were universally felt and admired. But the language and the style, rigorously formed on the classic models of Italian literature, those models against whose authority the endeavours of so large a portion of the writers of that period were constantly directed, could not meet with the same undivided approbation. The controversy which ensued was long and bitter, though less so, perhaps, than that of the "Proposta." The result was equally favorable to the cause of the reform of the Italian language. Botta himself took but a slight part in it, yet a decided one. His opinions had been recorded in his work, and that in a manner too striking to be misunderstood. The corrections which he made in subsequent editions, amount to nothing more than a few notes written in the margin of his own copy; and as for the rest, he quietly awaited the decision of time.

Had he now been at liberty to indulge his own inclinations, he would probably have entered at once upon his "History of Italy." But how could he hope to tell, during the reign of Napoleon, the whole story of her wrongs, of her sufferings, and of her betrayal? Anxious, however, to write of Italy,

and unable to do it in any other form, he turned his attention to verse, and composed his poem of "Camillo."

With the fall of Napoleon his trials began anew. The separation of Piedmont from France necessarily deprived him of his rank as representative. His small patrimony was insufficient for the support of his family; and where, in that moment of revolutions, could he look for new resources? To crown all, his wife, the cherished companion of his studies and of his recreations, was slowly sinking under a mortal disease, and fading, day by day, before him. It was then, that, to procure the means of obtaining for her the privilege of breathing once more her native air, he sold to an apothecary, at the price of waste paper, the last six hundred copies of his "*History of the American War*." Vain effort of self-deluding love! they never met again.

During the hundred days, he was appointed rector of the Academy of Nancy, an office which he lost upon the return of the Bourbons. In 1817, he received a similar appointment at the Academy of Rouen, which he held for nearly five years. During his residence in this city, he arranged the materials which he had long been engaged in collecting for the history of Italy from 1789 to 1814, — an interval which might be called the history of his own times. Upon his return to Paris, he carried with him the manuscript of this work. But who would venture to publish it? He could not, for want of means. A rigid censorship guarded the presses of Italy; and the publishers of Paris saw but little to tempt them in a long history, written in a foreign language. But for the generosity of a private friend, Poggi of Parma, it might still, perhaps, have lain in manuscript and unknown. This gentleman, with a liberality which should never be forgotten by the admirer of Italian literature, printed it at his own expense, in four magnificent quartos. A French translation, and nearly a dozen successive editions, which immediately appeared in almost every part of Italy, and in every variety of form, were sufficient proofs of its success.

But, in the mean while, the author was languishing in Paris from actual want. The loss of his office had left him nearly destitute; and his writings, so productive to others, with the exception of the prize of the Crusca, and the gift of a certain number of copies from Rosini of Pisa, and a set of his own editions by Molini of Florence, by whom his *History* had been

republished, had produced nothing to him. The booksellers afforded a small resource. Several articles for the "*Biographie Universelle*," and the "*History of the People of Italy*," a work in three volumes, which was written in as many months, procured him a temporary relief. We hasten to avert our eyes from this page of misery. In January, 1826, proposals were issued to raise a sum of money sufficient to support Botta during the time that he might require in order to compose a second *History of Italy*, uniting the work of Guicciardini with his own, and to defray the expenses of the publication. In April of the same year he commenced writing, and, before the close of 1830, the work was completed.

It was while he was employed upon this work, that we first became acquainted with him. He was living in a remote quarter of Paris, in humble lodgings, and attended by a single domestic. We found him in the little room which served him both for parlour and study, engaged in correcting the proofs of the second volume. The bust of Sarpi stood upon the table where he wrote, and on the wall hung the portrait of her, whose name is associated with the most interesting moments of his existence. It may have been fact, or it may have been prepossession, but it appeared to us, that there was a commanding dignity in his simple address, which went directly to the heart. His countenance was strongly-marked; and the deep lines of his brow, and the furrows of his cheek, seemed to tell both of study and of age, but perhaps more of sorrow than of either. His forehead was high, and remarkably full; his eye clear, and at times sparkling; the whole cast of his features pleasing, and his aspect generally mild, although there was an expression of singular firmness and decision about his nostrils, which we do not remember to have seen in an equal degree in any other face. Of himself and his works he spoke freely, but with unaffected modesty; the same of his contemporaries; nor had he the least appearance of talking for effect. Every now and then, he startled you with one of those pithy sayings, which he has introduced with so much effect into particular portions of his writings; but they dropped from him so naturally, that it was impossible to suppose them premeditated. He was especially fond of anecdote, and his inexhaustible memory supplied him with a ready store for every topic. Perhaps the graceful and idiomatic language, in which he always clothed

them, would have reminded you of the author, but that there was something so natural in his manner of uttering it, as to take away all appearance of study or of effort.

Not long afterward he paid his last visit to Piedmont. His reception was all that he could have wished, far more than he could ever have hoped for. A liberal pension was settled upon him, and every inducement offered, which seemed likely to win him back to his native land. But there were too many bitter remembrances there, too much uncertainty in the future, for him to think of such a change; and the few years that might yet be granted him, he wished to spend in quiet and in repose. Such, however, was not his destiny; and life, which had already poured forth to him so largely from her cup of sorrow, had still its dregs in store to embitter the cold, brief evening of his days. One of the most painful of all diseases fastened upon him. His nights became sleepless, his days agonizing. He was deprived of exercise and air, unless a short walk, which he could never venture to extend far from his own door, could be called such. Nor had he even the consolation of the society of his children, called in the exercise of their professions to different and distant parts of the world. Still he preserved his cheerfulness and equanimity to the very last; and his letters and his conversation were filled with the same spirit which had animated his happier moments. His Virgil and his Boccaccio were constantly by him; nor shall we ever forget the look with which he one day brought to us, in his little study, the music of the "Nina" of Paesiello, and laid it upon a chair with his flute, the companion of long years of ever-varying fortune, his repose in weariness, his solace in trouble, and which even then, as it lay mute before him, seemed to diffuse around a momentary calm, and call up the shadows of departed joys. Towards the close of 1836 his disease increased, and was attended by frequent fevers, that confined him to his bed. In the beginning of the following year his debility became excessive. We have before us letters written from his bed but a few months previous to his decease, and with a hand so feeble as to be hardly legible. In this state he lingered on through the summer of 1837, and finally expired in the month of September. His remains were interred in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, amid the poets, the warriors, the statesmen of modern story. But there is no tomb in that boundless city

of the dead, whether decked with the choicest expressions of sculptured grief, or eloquent from the mere memory of the dust that moulders in its bosom, by which the American should tread with deeper devotion than by the tomb of Botta. And there, too, when the passions and the prejudices of the present shall have passed away, shall the pilgrim from his own sunny clime come to offer up the homage of his tears. As for us who knew and who loved him, this brief tribute, though feeble and unadorned, may not, perhaps, pass unregarded; for it is the expression of feelings formed in the freedom of familiar intercourse, a lingering of memory around days that she would fain recall, and which, from the dim regions of the inexorable past, have left behind them the consoling assurance, that our cares were not all unavailing, and that he felt and appreciated the efforts that we made to smooth away some part of the ruggedness of his pathway to the grave.

We have allowed our pen to run on so freely in the preceding sketch, that we find ourselves constrained to curtail the remarks which we intended to offer upon the literary merits of Botta. The same causes which concurred in giving him so decided a taste for the best writers of his native tongue, led him to view with particular fondness the school in which they had been formed. His profound knowledge of Latin favored the cultivation of this partiality, and enabled him to study at the very sources of classic eloquence. Hence, when he took up his pen for the composition of history, it was with a mind warm from the meditation of Livy, of Tacitus, and of those who, by treading closely in their footsteps, have formed the most durable school of modern history. Thus the form of his works, naturally, — we had almost said, necessarily, — became classic. His narrative is arranged and conducted with consummate art. Sketches, portraits, and full descriptions are disposed at proper intervals, according to the nature and importance of the incident or of the person. If there be an important question to weigh, he puts it into the form of a debate, and makes you a listener to the discussions of the actual heroes of the scene. It is thus that he brings you to the grave deliberations of the Venetian senate, or placing you, as it were, in some hidden recess, discloses to you the midnight councils of a band of conspirators. And often, so powerful is the charm of his eloquence, you feel

excited, chilled, terror-struck, — moved, in short, by turns, with all the feelings that such a scene is calculated to awaken.

His narrations, if compared with those of the great historians of antiquity, will be found to possess two of the highest qualities of which this kind of writing is susceptible ; clearness, and animation. He never wrote until he had completed his study of the event ; and then, by the assistance of a most exact and retentive memory, he wrote it out just in the order in which it arranged itself in his head. He was thus enabled to give his narrative that appearance of unity of conception, which it is impossible to communicate, unless where the mind has, from the very first, embraced the subject in its full extent. The glow of composition, moreover, was never interrupted, and he was free to enter with the full force of his feelings into the spirit of the scenes he was describing. Hence many who deny him others of the higher qualities of an historian, allow him to be one of the most fascinating of narrators.

His descriptions have more of the warmth of poetry in them, than those of any other modern historian with whose works we are acquainted. Here, indeed, he seems to be upon his own ground ; and, whether he describe a battle-field, a midnight assault, a sack, the siege or the storming of a city or of a fortress, — the convulsions, in short, of man or of nature herself, — he is everywhere equally master of his subject. His eye seems to take in the whole at a glance, and seize instinctively upon those points which are best calculated to characterize the scene. If he leaves less to the imagination than Tacitus or Sallust, the incidents that he introduces are so well chosen, that they seize forcibly upon the imagination, and never fail to produce their full effect. His description of the flight of the French exiles from Savoy, of the passages of the Alps by Bonaparte and by Macdonald, of the sack of Pavia, of the siege of Famagosta, and of the earthquake in Calabria, may be cited as equal to any thing that ever was written. Read the taking of Siena by Cosimo the First. You are moved as if you were on the spot, and were witnessing with your own eyes that scene of horror. You can see the band of exiles worn down, emaciated, by watching and by want. The whole story of the past is graved upon their deathlike countenances. As the melancholy train

moves slowly onward, sighs, tears, ill suppressed groans, force their way. They touch even the hearts of the victors. Every hand is stretched out to succour and to console. But grief and hardship have done their work. Their files were thin, when they passed for the last time the gate of their beloved home ; but, ere they reach the banks of the Arbia, many a form has sunk exhausted and death-struck by the way. And, to complete the picture, he adds one little touch, which we give in the original, for the force of the transposition would be lost in English. "Sapevano bene di aver perduto una patria, ma se un' altra ne avrebbero trovato, nol sapevano."

The portraits of Botta are not equal to the other parts of his writings. No writer ever described character by action better than he ; but, in the uniting of those separate traits which constitute individual character, and those slight and delicate shades which diversify it, he often fails. The same may be said of his views of the general progress of civilization. He never, indeed, loses sight of this capital point ; and some of his sketches, such for example as the whole first book of his "*History of Italy from 1789*," are admirable ; but the developement of the individual and of society, and their mutual and reciprocal action, are not kept so constantly in view, and made to march on with the body of the narrative, with all that distinctness and precision, which we have a right to expect from so great a writer.

The moral bearing of every event, and of every character, is, on the contrary, always placed in full relief. Here his judgment is never at fault ; and the high and the low, the distant and the near, are alike brought with stern impartiality to answer for their deeds at the tribunal of historical morality. "O sì," he cries, addressing himself, after the relation of one of the most horrid acts ever perpetrated, to those who flatter themselves with the hope, that their greatness will always prove a sufficient screen from the infamy that they deserve, "infamativi pure co' fatti, che la storia vi infamerà co' detti." And nowhere is the goodness of his own heart more apparent, than in the delight with which he dwells upon those few happy days, which sometimes break in like an unexpected gleam of sunshine upon the monotonous gloom of history ; entering into all the minutest details, and setting off the event and its hero, by some well-chosen anecdote or apposite reflection.

Of his style we have, perhaps, already said enough. Puri-

ty of diction, richness, variety, and an almost intuitive adaptation of construction and of language to the changes of the subject, are its leading characteristics. The variety of his terms is wonderful ; and no one, who has not read him with attention, can form a correct idea of the power and inexhaustible resources of the Italian. A simple narrator, an exciting orator, soft, winning, stern, satirical at will, consummate master of all the secrets of art, he seems to us to have carried many parts of historical composition to a very high pitch of perfection ; and, if in some he appear less satisfactory, it is because he falls below the standard that we have formed from his own writings, rather than any that we have derived from those of others.

The “ History of the Kingdom of Naples,” by Pietro Colletta, was published at Capolago, in 1834, in two volumes, octavo. This work comprises the space of nearly one hundred years, from 1734 to 1825. Colletta, like Botta, was an eyewitness and an actor in many of the scenes that he describes. His youth, also, was passed in the turbulence of revolution, was equally checkered with the vicissitude of prosperous and of adverse fortune, and his days closed in poverty and in exile. Happier in one thing than Botta, that the spot of his exile was less distant from that of his nativity, and his last years were passed under the sky of Italy ; but still his home was Naples, —

“ e chi vi nacque
Sotto qual cielo non senti l' esiglio ?”

The life of Colletta has been written by his friend and editor, and with so much eloquence, both of philosophy and of feeling, that none would venture to abridge, few to translate it. Referring our readers to that exquisite sketch, we shall confine our remarks to his literary character.

The “ History of Naples ” by Giannone, one of the most remarkable productions ever published, since it accomplished fully the purpose for which it was composed, terminates with the death of Charles the Second, in 1700. Colletta, after a rapid sketch of the events of the first thirty-three years of the eighteenth century, enters upon a full narration, with the conquest of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily by Charles Bourbon. This period in the history of Naples was full of momentous changes. The passage from the government of a

viceroy to that of a resident sovereign ; reforms in the laws, in the usages, in the whole civil state, of the nation, and hence a new and more enlarged system of foreign intercourse ; a remarkable developement of individual genius ; a constant struggle, in short, between two adverse forms of civilization ; together with the convulsions, the public and private desolation, of five revolutions ; such is the theme which he has treated in the two volumes of his "*History of Naples.*" To say that he has done it well, that he has studied it profoundly and in detail, that he has entered deeply into the spirit of the events and of the men, would be but meagre praise. He brought to his undertaking the highest qualifications that an historian can possess ; — a mind formed in the school of experience and of adversity ; an indomitable will ; a clear perception of causes and of general principles ; patience and assiduity in the search of truth, and a heart to kindle and to glow in the narration of it.

His narrative is distinct and animated, but not flowing nor always easy. His descriptions, on the contrary, are always animated and natural. His military descriptions, in particular, are written with the feeling of a soldier and the science of a profound tactician. He paints to the life, and, in all his delineations of individual character, you see the quick eye of a man long skilled in reading the secret workings of the heart. But the strongest portions of his work are the admirable passages which he has devoted to a minute description of the wants and reforms of the state. No historian ever felt more deeply the importance of interweaving the history of civilization with the whole course of his narration, and thus giving at one view the results as well as the march of history. In the writings of Colletta, you not only see what men were, but why they were so ; not the naked act, but its cause and its consequences. Thus, every science connected with history (and which of the moral and political sciences has not its sources there ?) will find both principles and illustrations in this wonderful work. His style is pure, and remarkable for its terseness and its energy. Peculiarly his own, formed upon no model, nor formed, indeed, until the necessity of writing compelled him to turn his attention to the study of language, it bears the impress of his mind, and reveals in every sentence the stern, prompt energy and commanding dignity of his character.

We are compelled to pass over many other historical works belonging to the same period ; — the “ Commentaries ” of Papi on the French Revolution, in which the great events of modern story are narrated with impartiality, and with no ordinary share of feeling and of philosophy ; the “ History of Liguria,” by Serra ; the same subject treated by Varese ; and an infinity of other civil and military histories, to say nothing of the histories of literature and of the arts, of sculpture by Cicognara, of Italian painting by Lanzi, of Italian literature by Corniani and Ugoni, and numerous other productions of different degrees of merit, but of which the catalogue alone shows to what extent the study of history has flourished in Italy during the epoch of which we have undertaken to speak.

The state of philosophical studies in Italy is another branch of our subject, which, whether it be considered as a token of the present, or as an earnest of the future, is deserving of profound attention. Much misrepresentation prevails in foreign countries with regard to the state of letters in Italy ; but upon no department of study have grosser errors been promulgated than upon this. Some writers of the modern French school claim for themselves the merit of having introduced into the Peninsula the doctrines which prevail there ; and, by a gross anachronism, attribute to the works of Cousin the honor of having given rise to a school, some of whose best productions had been published five years before that eloquent professor made the first exposition of his doctrines from his chair in the University of Paris ; and Cousin himself, with a haste, excusable, perhaps, in so successful a teacher, represents the future philosophy of Italy as wholly dependent upon the direction it may receive from France. The circulation of such opinions, bearing with them the sanction of a name of so much pretension in the philosophical world, will be a sufficient excuse for the minuteness of some portions of the following remarks.

The study of philosophy in Italy, during the first fifteen years of the present century, was for the most part limited to the school of Condillac. The ideology of De Tracy, so remarkable for its distinctness and simplicity, and so attractive from the apparent facility with which it solves the most important questions, was considered as the best exposition of the principles of the school to which he belonged, and very generally studied. In the schools, Soave continued to hold

his place, and scarce any ventured beyond a bare analysis of ideas. But this order of things could not last long. A nation so acute and so profound, could not fail to bring their principles to the test, both by carrying them out to their remote consequences, and by considering them in their connexion with other sciences. The old school of their native philosophers had left its traces too deeply impressed on all the greatest productions of their literature, to admit of their long forgetting a method so just, and principles so comprehensive and so sublime. As early as 1803, the theories of the schools of Locke and of Kant were attacked by Tamburini, so far as they relate to the fundamental doctrines of moral philosophy; and, in a work published in 1823, the same author has touched with rare judgment upon the great question of the possible perfection of the human race, which is so warmly agitated at this moment.

But the full revival of philosophical studies in Italy dates from 1815, and received its first impulse, though not its doctrines, from abroad, and more particularly from the efforts made in France to overthrow the school of Condillac. From that period, its progress has been constant and rapid, and it already counts numerous productions of a very high order, and which, while belonging to different schools, have too many of the characteristic attributes of the Italian mind about them, to be confounded with those of any other people. We hardly need observe, to those who are at all conversant with philosophical disquisition, that it will be impossible to compress within the limits of a few pages, even a succinct analysis of the principles of these different schools. The utmost that we can offer will be a sort of bibliographical catalogue of the principal leaders, with here and there a hasty sketch of their doctrines. A somewhat clearer idea may be given by following the classification of Poli, whose admirable work we are happy to cite as giving authenticity to this difficult portion of our subject.*

The first class is that of *positive* and *negative eclectics*, or *empirical rationalists*; to which belong Tamburini, Galuppi, Poli, and many others, who, however much they may differ in the details of their systems, agree in the fundamental principles of eclecticism. The most distinguished writer of the school is the Baron Pasquale Galuppi, a native of Tropea, in

* Baldassare Poli, *Supplementi al Manuale di Tenneman.*

Calabria, now professor in the Royal University of Naples. The works of Galuppi are numerous and extensive, but all written with one view, the discussion of the most important questions of philosophy. His first publication was the "Saggio filosofico sulla Critica della Conoscenza," in which he has entered into a full examination of the two fundamental questions of philosophy; the possibility and the nature of our knowledge. In reply to the first query, he demonstrates the possibility of our knowledge, confuting at length the sophistry of the skeptical school, and proving that this knowledge is acquired by means of the intellectual faculties, which are the source of our ideas, and that the mind arrives at the truth, when it assents to or denies any thing by force of a deciding motive.

He gives a full analysis of the intellectual phenomena, deducing from it as a general result the reality of our knowledge, and the consequent falseness of skepticism. Having established this point, he goes on to show how we pass, in the acquisition of knowledge, from the world of thought to that of positive existence. As a connecting point between them he admits the existence of *universal ideas*, neither purely empirical nor to be deduced from the principles *à priori* of Kant, but from the subjectiveness of the mind, and as classed among its original laws; how we form, by means of these, analytical judgments or principles, without the necessity of calling in the aid of innate ideas; and in opposition to the theory of *synthetical judgments à priori* of Kant; and how they may all be reduced to two orders of knowledge or of truth; the one of existence, the other of reason. The first class presupposes the application of rational truths to the data of experience; the second serves as a basis for truths acquired by induction. He thus differs, both from the empirical school, which entirely separates reason from existence; and from the ideal, which draws a dividing line between the ideal and the sensible. He shows, that, though all our judgments are identical, they serve to enlarge the sphere of our knowledge; that by the application of the principle of causality to an existence which is purely experimental, we obtain the knowledge of others that are real; that there are two species of sensibility; the one internal, perceptive of the *ego* and its modifications; the other external and perceptive of external objects; whence to say, "I feel, but do not feel any thing," is an evident contradiction.

In the second part, he attempts to define the limits of human knowledge ; showing that we are ignorant of the essence of things ; that we can never know how efficient causes act ; can never know the nature of the Divinity ; nor how beings produce in themselves or in others certain given modifications.

The "Elements of Philosophy" contain the same principles, though differently expressed. They are divided into Logic, Psychology, Ideology, Ethics, and Natural Theology. In his "Logic" he first shows, that every process of reasoning is composed of judgments ; that these are either empirical or metaphysical ; the first, requiring an exact examination of particular cases ; the second, based upon a comparison of our own ideas. Hence a division of reasoning into pure, empirical, or mixed ; empirical reasoning being reducible to the last head ; and, consequently, a division of logic, the science of reasoning, into pure, or the logic of ideas, and mixed, or the logic of facts. But, as the second of these requires a previous study of the manner in which the mind acquires its knowledge of facts, or in other words, passes from the world of thought to the world of existence, it can only be treated after metaphysics, the science in which the mode and the nature of that passage is explained ; the first, being confined to a simple comparison of pure ideas, may be studied without the aid of metaphysics. He then passes to some further observations upon the nature of reasoning ; explains axioms ; shows that they are all founded upon the principle of contradiction ; refutes the *synthesis à priori* of Kant ; treats of definitions, and gives the genesis of universals. He next enters into a full analysis of the process of reasoning ; and, after proving that it always consists of three judgments, and is subject to one general law, requiring that there be one idea in common to the premises and to the conclusion, and a judgment affirming the identity, either partial or perfect, of the other two ideas, he shows how a process of reasoning is instructive ; 1st, inasmuch as it serves to arrange and classify our knowledge ; 2dly, as it leads to some kinds of knowledge which could not be acquired without it ; and 3dly, that, although it be founded upon the principle of identity, it becomes a source of knowledge, by leading to the discovery of those relations between our ideas, which could not be ascertained except through the medium of such a process. The last three chapters are devoted to an explanation of the different forms of reasoning, and to a luminous discussion of method.

Logic, as he has treated it, becomes a stepping-stone to psychology, in which he develops at length his system of the faculties of the mind. These are sensibility, consciousness, imagination, analysis, synthesis, desire, and will. The first three supply the subjects of thought ; analysis and synthesis are the faculties by means of which the mind acts upon these subjects ; will stimulated by desire serves as the guide and director of this action. Each branch of these subjects is treated with great clearness and detail ; and the whole is interspersed with important practical observations upon attention, the association of ideas, the different forms of synthesis, memory, and the acquired habits of the mind. In the chapter upon sleep and dreaming he proves, in opposition to Stewart, that the exercise of the will is suspended during sleep. He adds, also, some interesting remarks upon dreams and somnambulism. In the last chapter he subjects to a rigorous examination the doctrines of Condillac upon the intellectual powers.

From psychology he passes to ideology, or the doctrine of the origin and generation of our ideas, analyzes the ideas of mind, of body, of unity, of number, of a whole, of identity, of diversity, of substance, of accident, of cause, of effect, of time, of space, of the universe, and of God ; he points out some leading errors in the current systems of ontology, and, in an admirable chapter upon the influence of words in the formation of our ideas, establishes the principles of general grammar.

In the fourth part of his course he treats of mixed logic, showing first the reality of our knowledge ; explaining at length the nature of mixed reasoning ; and solving the principal questions connected with it. He distinguishes primitive from secondary experience, and points out the foundation of moral certainty, taking occasion, at the same time, to treat some of the most interesting questions of the philosophy of signs. He discourses with great fulness and distinctness upon the origin of error ; and, after treating of the doctrines of probabilities and hypotheses, explains and discusses the system of Kant. A treatise upon moral philosophy, and one on natural theology, in which he demonstrates the truth of Christianity, conclude the course ; the whole of which is written with clearness, warmth, and unaffected simplicity. Besides a full statement and discussion of his own principles, he has

interwoven admirable sketches of the doctrines of other philosophers, thus treating all the questions of philosophy upon the broadest scale.* The "Lettere Filosofiche" display a profound knowledge of the writings of the great philosophers of modern times. The work is perhaps, as far as it goes, the most perfect specimen of philosophical history ever written.

Of the other writers of this class we have not space to speak in detail. The most distinguished is probably Baldassare Poli, who, besides various other important productions, has added a supplement to the manual of Tenneman, in which he has filled, with singular profundity of research, and clearness of exposition, the numerous *lacunes* of the German historian.

In passing to the school of empirics, our sketch necessarily becomes more hasty and general.

Giandomenico Romagnosi, who held during a long life the first rank among the thinkers of Italy, and left behind him a school of enthusiastic disciples, was born in the village of Salso Maggiore, on the night of the 13th of December, 1761. His father, having himself filled with brilliant success several important public situations, resolved to prepare him from his childhood for the same career. Accordingly, as soon as he was judged capable of entering upon the usual routine of the schools, he was put to his Latin grammar, and, that he might accustom himself betimes to close application, made to study eight hours a day. The highest praise that can be given to the natural vigor of his intellect may be drawn from this circumstance; for neither his mind nor his spirits were broken by this harsh initiation into the mysteries of science. At the age of fourteen, he was admitted to the Alberoni college of Piacenza, where a fortunate casualty threw in his way a work, that seemed to give an instantaneous developement to all his intellectual faculties, and decide at once his whole future career. This was the analytical essay of Bonnet upon the faculties of the mind. Romagnosi devoted himself to the study of this volume with all the fervor of youthful enthusiasm. A new world seemed to have opened upon him. He read and he meditated. He compared the observations of his author with the suggestions of his own experience; he studied, in short, as the young student studies, when he meets,

* It may be necessary to observe, that we have employed, in preparing this hasty analysis, the last edition of the elements; which differs from all others in several particulars, the most important of which is the addition of the treatise of Natural Religion.

for the first time, a work that embodies and gives form and expression to his own indefinite but eager fancies. It would be long to repeat the wonders, that are told of his subsequent application and progress ; of his passion for the natural sciences ; of his astonishing feats of memory, and the still more astonishing efforts of reason which he made, until the publication, at the age of thirty, of his "*Genesi del Diritto Penale*" placed him in the rank which he ever afterwards continued to hold among the most vigorous and exact reasoners of the age. Neither shall we attempt to follow the vicissitudes of his fortunes, through all the various offices that he filled. The history of his life, to be written satisfactorily, should be accompanied by an analysis of his works, in the order in which they were written; for it is little else than the history of his mind.

For our immediate purpose, it will be sufficient to say, that his time, until about the period of the suppression of the kingdom of Italy, was divided between private study and the performance of public duties. He filled chairs at Parma, at Pavia, and at Milan, as public professor ; presided at the formation of the penal code for the kingdom of Italy ; was called to aid the reforms of government in several of the most interesting conjunctures ; and finally closed his laborious career at Milan, in poverty and in retirement, in the month of June, 1835. His death-bed was surrounded by the children of his intellect, his devoted disciples ; and the last words, that were audible in the agony of his death-struggle, were, "*Smith — buona dottrina.*"

The chief claim of Romagnosi to a place among the great intellects of his age, is founded upon his merits as a civil and political philosopher. His "*Genesi del Diritto Penale*," his "*Introduzione allo Studio del Diritto Publico Universale*," his treatise "*Dell' Indole e de' Fattori dell' Incivilimento*," are imperishable monuments of the vigor of his intellect, and of the depth of his learning. It was only towards the close of his life that he began to write upon the philosophy of the mind, and his contributions to this department of human knowledge bear in number no proportion to his other writings. But the depth of his views, the closeness of his reasoning, the positive, practical turn of his thought, give to these few productions a degree of importance which is often

wanting to the voluminous and fanciful theories of modern philosophers.

Melchiorre Gioja, who was born at Piacenza in 1767, and died at Milan in 1829, imbibed, like Romagnosi, his taste for philosophy, from the essay of Bonnet. The habits of close observation, and of patient thinking, which he thus acquired, influenced the composition of all his works, and were at once the consequence and the cause of his rigid adhesion to the experimental method. But, although he has written at length upon several branches of intellectual philosophy, it is mainly as an economist that he claims the attention of posterity. In this department his merit is of the highest order ; and the literature of no nation can boast a work so daring in its design, so exact and so complete in its execution, as his "*Prospetto delle Scienze Economiche*."

The Cavalier Pasquale Borrelli, better known by the assumed name of Lallebasque, deserves also to be classed among the most successful of those who have engaged, under the standard of the experimental method, in the boundless field of philosophy, inquiry, and discussion. His doctrines are contained in his "*Introduzione alla Filosofia Naturale del Pensiero*," and his "*Principj della Genealogia del Pensiero*," in which he has undertaken to trace the action of reasoning, and assign the principles upon which it is founded. Another important work of this author is his treatise on Etymology, in which he reduces the principles of this difficult art to the clearness and order of a science. He divides languages into radical and productive ; seeks the primitive origin of words in the causes of their changes, and passage from one language to another (which causes he reduces to four, *imitation, necessity, convenience, and arbitrary will*) ; and points out two methods for the investigation of radicals ; one *direct*, consisting in an historical research of the people that held communication with those whose language we propose to study ; the other *inverse*, which consists in seeking, in the derived language itself, a knowledge of those which have concurred in its formation.

The treatise of the Count Mamiani della Rovere, entitled "*Del Rinnovamento dell' Antica Filosofia Italiana*," was composed for one of the noblest purposes that can guide the researches of a philosopher ; that is, to show the possibility of arriving at positive conclusions in the science of mind and

the consequent certainty of the foundations on which our belief and our dearest hopes repose. He attributes the prevalence of so many discordant opinions in philosophy, not to the science itself, but to the methods employed in the investigation of it; and proposes to the discussion of philosophers, as the first and most important problem in the present state of the science, "to deduce, from a profound examination of the subject and aim of philosophy, the special modifications and proper uses to which the common doctrines of the natural method should be subjected." In tracing the characteristic attributes of this method, he shows that it originated in Italy; and that, consequently, a renewal of the ancient Italian philosophy would be the first step towards its establishment. From the exposition and history of this method he passes to the application of it, proving first the reality of the objects of human knowledge, each taken by itself; and their reality as connected and referring one to another.

The most distinguished writer of the school of rationalists or idealists is the Abbé Rosmini, author of the "*Nuovo Saggio sull' Origine delle Idee*." According to Rosmini, all our conceptions are formed by means of one universal predicate, from which all others derive their efficacy. This predicate is the idea of being (*dell' ente*); an idea anterior to any act of thought, and which refers solely to the possibility of particular existences. His theory is based upon two theorems; 1st. That the act of thought requires the idea of existence (*dell' essere*); 2d. That the idea of being (*dell' ente*) is not derived either from the senses, or from consciousness, or from reflection (in the sense in which it is used by Locke), neither can it originate with the act of perception; consequently it must be innate. The first part of the essay of Rosmini is devoted to a discussion and examination of the philosophical theories that preceded his own, and is important as a record of what the great men of different ages and different countries have thought and said upon this interesting science. The whole is replete with new and striking ideas.

The supernatural school has likewise found followers in Italy, and boasts some names of well-earned celebrity; but thus far its influence has been slight, and the number of its proselytes small.

The history of the application of these methods of philosophical investigation to some of the principal questions of art and of science would furnish materials scarcely less ample than those which we have compressed into the pages of the present review. The theories of pleasure, of beauty, the leading questions of taste, have been treated with more or less acuteness and profoundness, and with sufficient success to demonstrate the importance of these subtle but ennobling researches. The science of history, has of all others, been the most successful; and the country of Vico has found among her own children the best expositor of the abstruse doctrines of this Homer of philosophy, and the minds worthiest of treading in the path which he had opened. Nor in the science of education, the most important of all, since it not only characterizes the present but decides for the future, have the principles of a profound philosophy been less successfully applied. Were there no other name beside that of Lambruschini, this alone would deserve to be loved and revered as far as the influence of his pure and elevated philanthropy extends.

Hasty and superficial as the preceding sketches are,* they contain, at least, enough to prove the correctness of our original position, and show how much error must necessarily enter into the judgments of those who study nations in the deceptive mirror of artificial life. Could we have carried out our inquiries into every branch in which the innate ac-

* There are two omissions in this essay which will be particularly noticed. We have undertaken to give a sketch, rapid and concise it is true, but nevertheless a sketch, of the real state and apparent direction of studies in Italy during the first thirty-eight years of the present century, and yet we have said nothing of poetry, or of the natural sciences, and have hurried over the works of Romagnosi, Gioja, and several others, from the analysis of whose productions a better idea of the reach of the Italian mind might be derived than from almost any other source. The name of Jannelli is not even mentioned, and Balbi, one of the best geographical and statistical writers of the age, is treated with the same neglect. What shall we say of the periodical literature of Italy, of the "*Corografia Italiana*," — in short, of all our omissions? We can only say, that in our choice, both of subjects and of names, we have been guided by the best judgment we could form after long and mature reflection; and that we have omitted much that it was originally our intention to introduce, from the impossibility of doing justice to so many names, without trespassing too far beyond the bounds of a single article. For the same reason, we have avoided citing authorities, and should have cut short our biographical sketches, had we not thought, that a knowledge of the obstacles against which a writer has to contend, is one of the best guides to a correct judgment of his works.

tivity of Italian intellect has exerted itself; could we have spoken of science in the age of La Grange, of Cagnoli, of Piazzzi, of Galvani, of Volta; of archeology, where the dust of Visconti and Sestini is still warm with the recent pulsations of life; of poetry, with the works of a Monti, a Pindemonti, a Foscolo, a Niccolini, a Manzoni before us; of that indomitable energy and pure thirst after knowledge, which supported a Belzoni and a Rosellini in their daring and painful quest of the mysteries of Egyptian lore; of music, of a Rosini, a Bellini, a Donizzetti; of art, of a Canova, a Tennerani, a Bartolini; what force and what evidence might we not have given to our estimate of the Italian mind? And yet this is the land which has been painted as the home of bandits and of beggars; a corpse, decked indeed with flowers, and preserving still some traces of its former loveliness, but exhaling from every pore the loathsome testimonials of crumbling mortality. How easily do we forget what is due to the past! The contributions of science, the embellishments of art, all that conduces to the security or to the elegance of life, is sought after and jealously preserved. But, contented with the momentary fruition, we take no account of the toils and sacrifices of those to whom we are indebted for the gift. Forgetful of Galvani or of Volta, the chemist pursues the daily application of their sublime discoveries; and how few of those, who gaze upon the pale orb of Ceres, can tell whose eye first detected its march amid the glittering train, that waits upon its silent revolutions?

Were we to attempt to paint Italy as we ourselves have found it, — and in speaking of a subject like this, where individual testimony is made the standard of judgment, the reader will excuse us if we attempt to throw our own experience into the scale, — we would lead the traveller, not merely through the highways and cities of the Peninsula, but through its remote districts and paths seldom trodden by the stranger. We would ask him to loiter with us by the wayside, while we listened to the conversation or replied to the queries of the peasantry; to seat himself at their humble board and share their meal with the relish, which a sincere and heartfelt welcome gives it. We would have him mingle with the different classes of society until he had acquired enough of their tone of thought and of feeling, to find his way into their more

retired circles, and see the examples of affection, of sincerity, of stern conscientiousness, which abound there. We would then ask him to turn with us to the dark record, which contains the last four centuries of Italian history. We would show him on one side, a country parcelled out into petty states, some of them a prey to domestic oppression, some to the avidity of foreign dominion ; the spirit of liberty, and all that could contribute to its developement, cautiously suppressed ; local jealousies nourished, until that very division, which had once been among the greatest stimulants to the general developement of mind, had been converted into one of the most powerful instruments for its oppression ; and, when he had considered well this state of things and weighed for himself its influence and its necessary consequences, we would withdraw the veil from the other side of the picture. He should there see art, literature, science, springing into life from the very bosom of death. He should see mind, circumscribed or cut off from one sphere of action, turning with irrepressible energy to another ; the brightest beams of science irradiating the darkness of a dungeon ; the boldest flights of poetry and of philosophy winged from a garret or from a cottage ; the fondest hopes of life, and life itself, offered up a willing sacrifice at the shrine of scientific truth or of historical sincerity ; and then would we close our volume, and leave the decision to his own conscience.

ART. II. — *An Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth.* Vol. II. Parts II. III. IV. By FRANCIS BAYLIES. Boston : Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins. 1833. 8vo. pp. 286, 193, 170.

WE are happy to infer, from various signs, that a new interest is awakened in the study of the early history of these now United States. The brilliant events of the Revolution, and the exciting topics, which had their origin in the formation of a new government, subsequent to the establishment of independence, seemed for a number of years to absorb almost the whole of

public attention, and to cast a shadow over the equally important events, which led to the establishment of our institutions, and prepared the way for our national existence. In our admiration of our successful government, we hardly thought of going beyond the Revolution to discover its origin. We had almost forgotten what trials were endured, and sacrifices made, at an earlier day. Nor did we sufficiently remember how much we were indebted to those who were the pioneers of civilization in the western world, and who laid the foundation of free institutions upon the broad basis of learning and religion. The frequent publication of local histories, and the celebration of historical eras, which have taken place in all the chief towns of the north, within a few years, have given a new direction to public attention ; and we are now beginning to regard our whole history, from the settlement of the country to the present time, as but one chain of events, each and every link of which is equally important and equally necessary to the consummation of its grand design.

Among the local histories, which the prolific press has sent forth within a few years, there is none of greater interest than that of the colony of New Plymouth, by Mr. Baylies. The subject itself has the strongest claim upon attention, and the author has collected and arranged his materials with most praiseworthy research and good judgment. We owe to him the first entire history of the colony, which has been published. Other writers have given faithful and minute delineations of detached portions of the subject, but no one before Mr. Baylies has attempted to bring these detached portions together, and to present us with a full account of the fortunes of the colony during its whole existence. A work upon a theme so important, executed with such ability and care, deserves to be greeted as a valuable public service.

But our purpose is not to review the history of Mr. Baylies, so much as it is to give some account of the colony itself. It is the oldest of the New England colonies, and to its early success may be traced the origin of all the others. It is the place where civilization and Christianity were first introduced into New England. It has been the scene of many a trial, and of the fulfilment of many a high and holy resolve. It was here that government, based on the will of the governed, was first established on the American continent, and the great principle, that all should obey such laws as a majority of the

people should make, distinctly acknowledged. To this colony, we trace the first practical recognition of those political principles, which now form the basis of all the institutions of the United States. Independently of the remarkable circumstances under which the settlement was made, its history, after a government went into regular operation, and especially the history of its legislation, are entitled to more attention than we suppose them to have commonly received.

The history of this colony extends through a period of only seventy-one years ; namely, from 1620 to 1691, when it was united to Massachusetts, becoming a part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

Its territory, comprising most of the present counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, and Bristol, together with a small tract of land on its southerly side, now included within the limits of Rhode Island, contained about eleven hundred square miles, or about one seventh of the present territory of this Commonwealth. It is described in the charter to William Bradford and his associates, as bounded on the north by Cohasset river, on the south by the Narragansett river, on the east by the western ocean, and on the west by the utmost limits of the "Pahoninutt country."

During the existence of the colony, this territory was divided into three counties, whose names are still retained, and into twenty townships and districts, containing, as is supposed, at the union in 1691, a population of about nine thousand. The same territory is now divided into upwards of fifty townships, and contains a population of about one hundred and forty thousand.

The origin of this colony is too well known to require recapitulation. It is enough to say, that it owed its existence to persecution for religion's sake. As early as 1602, a number of persons in England, feeling themselves aggrieved, began to converse upon the subject of removing from that country ; but they took no measures for that purpose till 1610, when a small company of Puritans, with the distinguished Robinson for a pastor, settled at Leyden, in Holland. Here they were well received, and protected in the enjoyment of their religion. During their whole stay in that country, it appears they were on the most friendly terms with its inhabitants. But still they were not satisfied. They were

among a people, whose language they did not understand, and whose morals were far below the elevated standard which they had prescribed for themselves. Nor did they find there such means of education as they desired for their children ; but, on the other hand, had reason to fear that they would suffer from evil example, and that, by joining the Hollanders, either as soldiers or sailors, the identity of their little community would be lost, and its members be dispersed. They never had a cordial sympathy with the people of that country, but felt that they were strangers and sojourners, and that here was not their home. After about nine years' residence they began seriously to think of a second removal, but they knew not where to go. They still had attachments for England, but her partial and rigid laws would not protect them in the enjoyment of their rights. They desired to retain for their children their language as well as their religion, and for this reason they preferred a residence in a wilderness to an alliance of their fortunes with a foreign nation. It was at length determined to make America their place of refuge ; and, soon after, negotiations for settlement were entered into with the merchant adventurers, and with them a hard bargain for the Puritans was concluded.

Various accidents and difficulties detained them in Holland till July, 1620. They then commenced their adventurous voyage. They first sailed to Southampton in England, where they remained till the 5th of August. Soon after, one of their vessels becoming leaky, they put into Dartmouth to repair her. These repairs having proved insufficient, they were again compelled to put into Plymouth, where they were detained till the 6th of September. They then left, most of them for ever, their native country ; and, after a perilous voyage of about two months, made land at Cape Cod. It was about six weeks after this, before they made the first permanent settlement at Plymouth, on the 22d of December.

It is well known, that their original destination was near Hudson's river, and within the limits of the Virginia Company, with which they had made a contract for settlement, and that, by bribery (as is supposed), the master of the vessel was induced to land them on the barren shores of New Plymouth. On their arrival they found themselves without government, and without any constituted authority by which the

members of their little community could be restrained, and its affairs managed. They still acknowledged themselves subjects of the king of England, and knew they were within his dominions. Yet they were too insignificant, as well as too remote, to feel or fear his authority, or to expect any protection. They were literally free from all political restraints, and as favorably situated as any people ever were to begin the world anew, and to establish well such a government and institutions as were suited to their new condition.

From the peculiar character and situation of the Pilgrims, we might naturally expect a political organization different from any the world had before seen. No people had so fully appreciated the value of the rights of each member of the state ; none had felt so deeply the great cause of humanity, or entertained such cheering hopes of human improvement. They regarded the forms and institutions of society then existing in the old world as wholly unfit for the advancement of the true objects, for which society was formed, and civil governments instituted. They had fled from a government which they believed to be tyrannical, and it is not strange, that they should have used every precaution to resist, in their new situation, the evils from which they had escaped. The remark of Burke is as true of them as of their descendants, — that “they judged of an evil in government, not by the pressure of the grievance, but by the badness of the principle. They augured misgovernment at a distance, and snuffed the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze.” In their new situation they were free from all political restraints, and could make, in the establishment of their government and institutions, a practical recognition of those political principles upon which they believed the well-being and happiness of society rested. In this respect they had an advantage over most of the other American colonies, for which governments were formed previous to their settlement by means of charters from the King.

The government of the colony dates its origin from November 11th, 1620, when the Pilgrim fathers met in convention for the purpose of forming a social compact. This is the first meeting of the kind, of which the history of the world gives us any information ; and, if we may judge of the wisdom of its deliberations by their results, it has never been sur-

passed. The experience of more than two hundred years has hardly suggested any improvement in the principles discussed and adopted by this infant colony, congregated in the dark and crowded cabin of the *Mayflower*, as she lay at anchor by the shore of the new world.

After declaring themselves the loyal subjects of King James, and that their undertaking was for the advancement of the Christian faith, and for the honor of their king and country, they say, that "they solemnly and mutually, in presence of God and one another, consort and combine into a civil body politic, for their better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid ; and by virtue thereof do enact, constitute, and frame such equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." To this compact they all promised submission and obedience, thereby investing a majority with the whole political power, and recognising to its fullest extent the right of such a majority to govern. Unlike the constitutions of the United States and the several States, it made no division of political power, contained no checks, imposed no restraints upon the government, but left the whole to the rule and decision of a bare majority. It did not even prescribe what officers should be chosen, or point out their duties and powers, but left the whole to be determined as circumstances should from time to time require. Of all the governments which ever existed, none has been more democratic than this, and perhaps none was ever better suited to the condition and wants of the people that established it.

During the whole existence of the colony, this form of polity was continued ; and though, at a subsequent period, there was some division of political power, and some restrictions were imposed upon the government, yet this was all done by mere acts of legislation, which could at any moment be annulled by the legislative power. This compact may properly be considered the only valid constitution which the colony ever had, and to it they clung with the greatest tenacity. Among themselves this was their strong bond of union, and, had they not had fears of the government at home, it would have been the only authority for legislation which they would have ever sought. But they were not then in a situation to

act with entire independence, and it became necessary to submit, at least nominally, to a higher authority, and to attain some assurance from that authority, that their rights should be protected.

On the 3d of November, and while the Pilgrims were coasting along Cape Cod, the King granted to the "Council at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America, all the American territory between 40 and 48 degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific;" including, of course, all the territory comprised in the colony of New Plymouth. This company had authority to sell and convey any portion of their territory, and, before the surrender of their charter in 1635, did in fact dispose of several large tracts of land, conveying the same right to the soil, waters, and fisheries, which the company itself had. It was soon ascertained by the Plymouth colonists, that this company were claimants to all the territory occupied by them, and that they claimed it under the King, who was then admitted to have authority to dispose of a continent, to which he had no other claim than that some of his subjects, a century before, had sailed along its coasts. To avoid molestation, it therefore became necessary to purchase the rights of this company, which, after a long negotiation, was accomplished in 1629, when the charter from the Council at Plymouth was granted to William Bradford and his associates, of all the territory comprised within the colony of New Plymouth. This charter can be regarded in no other light than as a common deed of conveyance, giving them a right to the soil, but no authority to establish a new government, or to exercise jurisdiction over it. It was no more a charter of government than the hundred conveyances from the natives, and so the colonists always considered it, — for they spared no efforts to obtain the sanction of the King to it; being aware that, without this, they had no assurance that he would do them the favor to let them alone. These efforts, however, were unavailing. The King never gave his sanction; and, from the beginning of the colony to its end, its government can properly be considered as resting on no other basis than the will of the colonists themselves. For this reason we see, that in every period of their history, they exhibited a constant solicitude, not only as to the validity of their government, but as to the extent of the

powers, which they might exercise under it. It was early a grave question, whether they could inflict capital punishment in case of murder, and regarded as of so much importance that they sought the advice of the governor of Massachusetts upon it. He told them they had such authority, not on the ground, however, of any chartered rights, but "that the land should be purged from blood." The result proved, that this charter was regarded with the same respect as the other New England charters, and with them it suffered a common ruin under the arbitrary reign of James the Second.

For the first sixteen years we have but a meagre account of the legislation of the colony. During this period, the population was small, and probably at no time exceeded four hundred. And though such a community would require many rules and regulations to preserve its harmony, and secure to each member his rights, yet, since such rules and regulations were adopted in general assembly, they were known to all, and were commonly of so temporary a character, that they were scarcely thought worthy of committing to public record. The colonists during this period hardly considered themselves as permanently settled. They were looking for a more propitious soil, and at one time came nigh leaving their frail and temporary habitations at Plymouth, and removing to the fertile valley of the Connecticut. Besides, they lived rather as a social than a political community, bound together as one family, by common interests and objects, and enduring common sufferings and privations. And it is not strange that, under such circumstances, they should have left us a record of so few of their public acts. Our surprise should rather be, that so many of them have come down to us, affording us, at the end of two centuries, the best evidence both of the purity and wisdom of their framers.

The records of the colony begin in 1623, and there is still standing at their head a law providing, "that all criminall acts, and also all matters of trespasses and debts betweene man and man, should be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impannelled by authority in forme of a jury upon their oath." The other laws, adopted during this period, relate principally to the estates of deceased persons, the division of lands, the defence of the colony, and the security of its trade and fisheries. In 1627, it was enacted, that no dwelling-

house should be covered with any kind of thatch, as straw, reeds, &c. The immediate occasion of this act was a destructive fire, which the colony had just suffered, by reason of their buildings having been covered with such combustible materials.

In 1636, a new era occurred in its legislation. The colony had increased considerably in population, which was spread over a portion of the territory of Plymouth, Duxbury, and Scituate. The system which answered their purpose while all lived in sight of the Plymouth Rock, or within the hearing of the voice of their valiant chieftain, was no longer suited to their condition. They had long waited, but in vain, for a confirmation of their charter by the King. They now found it necessary to create new officers, define their powers, establish fixed laws, and declare more fully the authority under which they acted. For this purpose a General Court was called in October, at which a committee of fourteen persons was appointed, with full authority to revise the laws, and to report their proceedings to the next General Court. The duties of this committee were performed with great despatch ; for within five weeks a new code was prepared, reported, and adopted. It does not appear to have created much discussion, nor have we any evidence that it met with serious opposition ; for it appears by the records to have been all adopted in a single day, and perhaps in a single hour.

This code first gave form to the government of the colony, and invested it with its most distinctive features. Its preamble recites the authority of the colonists to make laws, and declares, that, as freeborn subjects of England, they were possessed of all the rights of Englishmen ; and that, as such, no law, imposition, or ordinance should be made or imposed on them but by their consent ; the very doctrine maintained by their descendants a century and a half afterward, in the declaration of American independence. It further provided, that an election should be held on the first Tuesday of March annually, at which all their officers should be chosen, namely, a Governor, seven Assistants, a Clerk, Treasurer, Coroner, Messenger, and Constables.

The duties and powers of these officers were to a considerable extent defined. The Governor had authority to summon and dissolve the General Court, and was made a conser-

vator of the public peace ; but in other respects he had little more authority than any of the other magistrates, except that he could cast a double vote in the General Court. The Assistants composed his Council, and both together were invested with extensive judicial powers. An oath of office was prescribed for each of the public officers, as well as for the freemen, by which it appears, that they were all required to swear allegiance, not only to the king of England, but to the government of the colony of New Plymouth. The Messenger was the chief executive officer of the General Court, and performed duties very similar to those of a sheriff at the present day. His name was retained till within three or four years by an officer of the General Court of Massachusetts, who still possesses some of his powers, and performs most of his duties, but is now known by the foreign name of *sergeant-at-arms*.

All the freemen in General Court took part in enacting the laws, till 1639, and it was regarded by them not as a privilege merely, which they might exercise or not as they pleased, but as a duty which, under a penalty, they bound themselves to exercise. It was enacted, that a person who did not attend the Court should be subject to a penalty of ten shillings sterling. The privilege of suffrage was regarded by them, as it always will be by all men who value free institutions, as one that should never be neglected, and in which the public, as well as the individual, have an interest. This system was continued till the population had become so extended that it became extremely burdensome to such of the freemen as lived in Duxbury and Scituate. To remedy the evils arising from this cause, the General Court in September, 1638, enacted, that each town in the colony, except Plymouth, should choose two persons, and Plymouth four, who, with the Governor and Assistants, should "make all good and wholesome laws as would be for the benefit of the colony," provided, that all the laws so made should be proposed at one General Court, and remain to be considered at the next. It was also further provided, that, if any law so enacted should be found prejudicial, all the freemen assembled at the court of election might repeal it. These deputies were at first called Committees, and were paid by the towns that sent them. And, since all the inhabitants were bound to bear a portion of

the expense, it was provided, that not only freemen, but all the inhabitants, who had taken the oath of fidelity and were heads of families, should have a voice in their election. This was the beginning of the representative system of the colony, and from this time to its union with Massachusetts most of the laws were made by the Governor, Assistants, and Deputies, composing a single body ; though at all times the freemen claimed, and not unfrequently exercised, the right of assembling, and enacting or repealing laws for themselves. The election of Deputies was regarded as a matter of convenience, and not as precluding them from the rights of legislating for themselves. In all cases of great importance, where the representatives did not wish to take the responsibility, the freemen were called together, or their wishes were otherwise ascertained. The representatives were strictly the servants of the people, and their whole power could be taken from them, even while they remained in office.

In 1646, a law was made fixing the time of meeting of the General Court, which shows, that a great change in the business habits of our legislators, as in every thing else, has taken place since the days of the Pilgrim fathers. By this law, that body was required to meet in the summer at seven o'clock in the morning, and in the winter at eight o'clock ; and to remain in session till half past eleven ; when an adjournment took place for dinner. After dinner they were required to hold another session, till such hour in the evening as the Governor thought proper. And, in order to ensure punctuality and constant attendance, each member was liable to a fine of a sixpence for tardiness, and also for each hour's absence during the session.

Before 1658, no measures were adopted for the publication of the laws. They were kept by the Secretary, who had but a single copy, and who kept them, not in a volume by themselves, but in connexion with all the other records he was required to make. In the same manuscript volume we find the general laws, the judicial proceedings of the court of Assistants, the records of deeds, wills, births, marriages, deaths, coroners' inquests, and accounts of special providences ;—all mixed together, and all apparently regarded as of equal importance. On one page we find the treaty with Massassoit ; on another, an inventory of the valuable library of Elder Brew-

ster ; while on a third appears an account of the belligerent proceedings of the colony against the Dutch. Then comes the record of a general law requiring every householder to keep a ladder, which would reach to the top of his house, or providing that every town shall have a cage for the accommodation of offenders. In this way, the records had grown to be so voluminous, that it became necessary to adopt some new measures to determine what laws were actually in force. This difficulty was still further increased by the process of repealing and amending laws then in use ; which was to erase or expunge, and this was generally done much more thoroughly than by the drawing of black lines around the obnoxious law. During the first twenty or thirty years most of the laws were repealed and amended in this manner, and oftentimes without giving the date when the expunging process took place. The oaths of office underwent this process, — first, by erasing the words of allegiance to king Charles and his successor, and interlining “the government of England as it now stands,” and afterwards by having the interlineation erased, and the original phraseology restored.

At a General Court held in 1658, a committee was appointed “to peruse the laws, and reduce them to better order.” They made a selection from the whole body of laws, suggested such amendments as they thought proper, and arranged them in alphabetical order, in one manuscript volume. This volume was then submitted to the General Court and formally enacted. At the same time the General Court published an address to the people, explaining their views in the enactment of laws. In this they say, “We have had an eye primarily and principally unto the Jewish platform, and unto the right improvement of the liberties granted unto us by our superiors, the state of England at the first beginning of this infant plantation, which was to enact such laws as should most befit a state in the nonage thereof, not rejecting, or omitting to observe, such of the laws of our native country, as would conduce unto the good and growth of so weak a beginning as ours in this wilderness.” The Secretary was directed to prepare a manuscript volume of these laws for each of the towns in the colony, in whose meetings they were to be read at least once a year. The towns were required to furnish the Secretary with paper, and, in case of their neglect, he was

authorized to purchase it on their account. Nathaniel Morton was then Secretary, and he discharged his duty with great care and fidelity. It is believed that some of his copies of the laws are still extant. There was one, which belonged to the town of Taunton in a good state of preservation, but which was unfortunately destroyed with most of the records of the town in the great fire, which occurred in that place two years ago.

No other revision of the laws took place till 1671, when a digest of them was prepared and enacted, and then they were for the first time printed. At the same time the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut digested their laws, and also had them printed. In all improvements of this kind, the New England colonies went together. Their legislation was nearly the same, embracing in substance the same principles, and securing the same rights ; and it is not unusual to find the same law, nearly word for word, adopted in all the colonies at about the same time. Another revision was made in 1685, and they were again printed. No other edition of the Plymouth Colony laws was published till 1836, when they were again printed by order of the Legislature of Massachusetts as matters of early history, important to be preserved.

The judicial system of the colony was simple and efficient. They adopted so much of the common law of England as was suited to their new condition, taking full liberty to amend or change it as they saw fit. Trial by jury was adopted, as has been seen, in 1623. Before this, all trials were had before the assembled colony, and the accused was acquitted or convicted by the popular voice. Leister and Doty, the first duellists in New England, were convicted by this public tribunal ; and the penalty inflicted by tying together the culprits hand and foot, and keeping them for a reasonable time in a state of fasting, shows that it possessed a good share of wisdom, and was guided by a proper sense of justice. For a number of years, the General Court exercised a large portion of the judicial powers, and, during the whole existence of the colony, never entirely divested itself of them. This, in fact, was the supreme judicial tribunal. Next to it was the court of assistants, which in process of time became the principal judicial tribunal. In 1685, county courts were established, having original jurisdiction in most of the cases before determined by the court of Assistants, except in those of a

capital nature. All smaller matters were determined by a single magistrate, or by the selectmen of towns, who were invested with judicial authority for that purpose.

How far our ancestors adopted the common law of England, has often been made a question, and is still a matter of dispute. In the colony of New Plymouth there is abundant evidence, that they had the strongest attachment to it, and intended to adopt it so far as it suited their new condition. It is true, that they incorporated into their system much of the Jewish code ; but it was that portion, chiefly, which related to crimes and punishments. Their civil rights as members of the community, so far as related to the tenure and transfer of property, and the remedial processes for the protection and recovery of rights, were all based on the common law of England. This they claimed as their birthright, and they always regarded it as the wisest means of protection. The colonists were not lawyers, nor were they much skilled in the science and technicalities of the law ; yet they knew enough of its general principles, and of the free spirit which it breathed, properly to estimate its value. It is not strange, that persons thus situated should have made great encroachments upon the system of jurisprudence adopted in the mother country. Our surprise should rather be, that they were able to follow it so closely, and to retain every thing in it that was valuable. Without skill and learning in the law, and without a distinct class of men devoted to its practice and determination, it became necessary, and in that state of society perfectly proper, that every process should be simple, and that every case should be decided by such considerations of equity as should be applicable to it, rather than by those general principles, which become necessary in a more complicated state of society. The informal proceedings, which they so frequently adopted, did not affect the great principles which they maintained, but only the manner of carrying those principles into effect. An indictment for the highest crime might be contained in a single line ; yet even this could not be found without the assent of the general inquest, and the accused still had a right of trial by jury.

The general good of the colony formed the great rule of action adopted by the General Court. In one sense, it was, like the Parliament of England, omnipotent. From the be-

ginning it exercised a constant supervision, not only over the business and employments of the people, but over their habits and morals. In 1626, the exportation of corn, beans, and peas, was prohibited, and the employment of mechanics regulated. In 1636, the Governor and Assistants were authorized to punish the drunkard at their own discretion, and, from that time to the union with Massachusetts, exercised the power of punishing all persons who drew "strong waters" without a license. In 1635, it was enacted, that none should become housekeepers, or build cottages, without the consent of the Governor and Assistants. The same authority was afterwards granted to selectmen of towns, who were by no means remiss in its exercise. They were further empowered, in 1669, to forbid any person to live by himself, or to board in a family which they did not approve. In 1638, laborers' wages were fixed at twelve pence per day with board, and eighteen pence per day without it. In 1639, every householder was required to sow at least one square rod of hemp or flax each year; and in 1669, the constables were ordered to look after all persons who slept in church, and report their names to the General Court. And so we might enumerate a hundred other laws, which restrained or directly affected the industry and habits of the people. To us many of these laws appear very absurd; yet we should recollect, that they were designed to meet the wants of the people at that time, and, so long as they did so, we have no right to say they were not salutary. To them the rights of the individual were nothing compared with the general good of the colony, which they supposed could best be promoted by bringing all to the standard which a majority prescribed.

In its criminal law, the colony was comparatively mild and humane. This may be regarded as its general character, though some crimes were punished with an undue degree of severity. All punishments were left to the discretion of the court till 1636. The capital crimes at this time were only eight. The number was afterwards increased, and in 1671 there were sixteen; of which one was witchcraft, or, as expressed by the act, "the solemn consortion or conversing with the Divell by the way of witchcraft, conjuration, or the like"; another, blasphemy; and a third, cursing or smiting father or mother. The last offence was justifiable, if the

child could show that his education had been neglected, or that he had been improperly provoked ; and, to the honor of the colony, no execution for witchcraft ever took place within its limits. Most of the smaller offences were punished by fine, setting in the stocks, imprisonment in the town cage or colony prison, or by whipping and branding. The burglar was branded for his first offence with the letter B on his right hand, and, for his second, with the same letter on his left. If the offence was committed on Sunday, the brand was set on the forehead. Other offences were punished by requiring the culprit to wear for a limited time large letters upon his clothing, signifying the crime he had committed. In all of these punishments, the court possessed a large discretionary power, which was exercised according to the nature and character of the offence.

The legislation of the colony bears traces of increasing hostility to the use of tobacco, and of the ineffectual attempts to suppress it. As early as 1641, its importation for home consumption was prohibited. Three years earlier, the General Court declared, that, "whereas there is great abuse in taking tobacco in a very uncivil manner, openly in the town streets, and as men pass upon the highways, to the great reproach of government, it is enacted, if any one is found or seen taking tobacco in the streets, or in any building or field within a mile of a dwelling-house, he shall be fined twelve pence. And, if he be a boy or a servant, without money to pay his fine, he shall be put in the stocks or whipped." In 1650, it was provided, that every juror, who used tobacco, should be fined five shillings. In 1669, it was enacted, "that every person found smoking in the streets on the Lord's day, going to or returning from meeting within two miles of the meetinghouse, should be fined twelve pence." All of these provisions of law, without any material alterations, remained in force till the end of the colony ; and probably had no other effect than to make the smokers and chewers of tobacco a little more cautious, and at the same time to increase their attachment for their favorite but persecuted weed.

The great reluctance of the people of the colony to the holding of public offices forms one of their most striking peculiarities. Among them there were no office-seekers, — no lovers of the spoils. They had other and different views in

taking the high and responsible offices of government. For a long time this reluctance was so strong, that it became necessary to compel men under a penalty to accept the highest and most honorable offices in the colony. In 1632, it was enacted, that, if "any one were elected to the office of Governor, and would not stand to the election, nor hold his office for one year, he should be assessed £20 sterling," with a proviso, that no one should be required to serve two years in succession. It was also enacted, "that if a person was elected Assistant, he should be liable to a fine of £10 sterling, if he did not stand to the election." In 1637, Thomas Prince was elected Governor. He was then resident at Duxbury, and a law of the colony required the Governor to reside at Plymouth. At first he declined the office; but, after much solicitation, he agreed to accept it on two conditions; namely, that Governor Bradford, who was then in office, should continue to discharge its duties, till he was ready to assume them, and that he might be permitted to reside at Duxbury. These conditions were acceded to by the General Court, and at the same time it was enacted, that the old officers should continue in office till Governor Prince was ready to discharge the duties of his office, and that they should act under their former oaths.

The colony made no provision for the support of the clergy till 1655. Previously to this, the strong and almost universal attachment of the colonists to their religious institutions insured for their clergy an adequate support. But, in process of time, a party grew up which was opposed to the present faith and the established church discipline. It was about this time that the Quakers began to make their appearance, and to sow strife and contention, not only in the church, but in the commonwealth. Opposition to the clergy became more open, and a neglect to make the proper contributions more apparent. At length it became necessary for the General Court to give their attention to it. They appear to have approached the subject with great caution, and to have hesitated to adopt at once a compulsory process. They said, "If there appears to be a real defect in the hearers of the ministers complaining, the magistrate shall use all gentle means to persuade them to do their duty. And, if any one of them shall not thereby be reclaimed, but shall persist through plain

obstinacy against the ordinance of God, then it shall be in the power of the magistrates to use such means as may put them upon their duty." This provision of law was found insufficient. Two years afterward, the General Court, having declared that all were bound to aid in the support of the ministry, and that there was great neglect in this respect, enjoined that each town should choose four men to assess the inhabitants according to their several estates, leaving it to the ministers to collect these assessments, if they could. Some paid them, others refused; and, since there was no legal means of enforcing payment, the law soon became a dead letter, and the whole matter was actually left where it was before,—to voluntary contributions. In 1662, a resolve was passed recommending it to the several towns in the colony to appropriate a portion of the proceeds of all whales cast on shore, for the support of the ministry, which at that time was the source of a considerable income, it being, if we can judge from the constant legislation upon the subject, of very frequent occurrence. In 1669, the General Court took measures to enforce the payment of taxes for the support of public worship, authorizing any magistrate or selectman to compel any delinquent to pay double the amount of his tax. Still the collection of the taxes was left to the clergy. But the system soon became so odious, that, in the following year, the General Court, after declaring that its tendency was to create prejudice against the clergy, provided that each town should choose two collectors of these taxes, and pay the same to the ministers. They further declared their intention to support public worship in all the towns in the colony, and their right to impose any tax for that purpose; and, as a practical illustration of that right, it was enacted, that fifteen pounds should be raised in the town of Dartmouth. No material change was made in the laws for the support of public worship after this time till the union. They still remain as evidence, not only of the great solicitude of a large majority of the colonists to support public worship, but of the indifference in relation to it, which then existed among another portion of the people.

No measures were adopted for the support of public schools till 1663, and then the subject was merely recommended to the towns for their consideration. In 1674, the profits of the

fishery at Cape Cod were appropriated to that purpose ; and it appears from the act, that it was for the support of a single school at Plymouth, which was attended by only eight or ten scholars. The first act, requiring all the inhabitants to support public schools by a tax, was passed in 1677, when every town having fifty families was required to raise at least £ 12 per annum for the support of a grammar school. About ten years after, when the colony was divided into counties, each county town was required to support a Latin school, in which young men could be fitted for college. It must not, however, be supposed, from these small efforts of the General Court in the support of public schools, that they were indifferent to this subject. Education was an object ever dear to the Puritans, and they were always solicitous that the whole people should enjoy its benefits. That they neglected so long to make legal provision for the support of schools, is no proof of indifference ; it rather shows, that such a provision was not then necessary. The colonists were poor, and were all about equally poor ; yet there is abundant evidence of the deep solicitude they felt, and the great exertions they made, to give all their children the benefits of such an education as could then be had. Nor were their efforts confined to that colony alone. On the contrary, when applied to by President Dunster, of Harvard College, to do something for that institution, then in its infancy, and borne down with poverty, they, like all the rest of New England, generously contributed from their scanty means. It is true, their contributions were small, oftentimes consisting of nothing more than a peck or half peck of corn or beans. Yet this was all they had to give.

Like the other New England colonies, Plymouth was compelled to submit to the arbitrary rule of Sir Edmund Andros, in 1686 ; and, during the three succeeding years, she, like them, suffered one continued series of wrongs. Her General Court was abolished ; town meetings were forbidden ; land titles were disputed ; taxes illegally and arbitrarily imposed ; her citizens imprisoned without cause ; and, in short, every thing was done, which would characterize a tyrant. It was to them a period of darkness and trial, and for a time it seemed that every thing most valued was lost. But the day of retribution and of deliverance soon came ; and the people here, imme-

diately on hearing of the revolution in England, like their neighbours in Massachusetts, threw off the Governor's authority ; resumed their former government, recalled their old officers, and declared their allegiance to the Protestant sovereigns of England.

After this revolution, new efforts were made by this, as well as by several other American colonies, to procure a charter. They were strongly attached to their old government, and desired a distinct colonial existence. They were aware, that efforts were making to annex them to some other colony, than which they imagined no greater calamity. It became necessary, in order to prevent this, to adopt the most vigorous measures ; and, accordingly, Sir Henry Ashurst, the Reverend Ichabod Wiswell of Duxbury, and the Reverend Increase Mather of Boston, were appointed agents in behalf of the colony, to obtain a charter. Mather was then in England, having escaped from Boston in the night, during the administration of Andros, for the purpose of laying the complaints of the Massachusetts colony before the King. He was known to have influence at court, and it was supposed that he might exert this for the benefit of the colony. Of his influence there is no doubt ; but the results of the negotiation led to the suspicion, that he regarded the interests of Massachusetts rather than of Plymouth. Such was the opinion of Wiswell, who, in a letter to Governor Hinckley, speaks in no very complimentary terms of this distinguished negotiator. He says, " All the frame of heaven moves on one axis, and the whole of New England's interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to concentrate to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who were wont to trot after the *bay* horse. Your distance is your advantage, by which you may observe their motions. I do believe, that Plymouth's silence, Hampshire's neglect, and the rashness and impudence of one, at least, who fled from New England in disguise by night, hath not a little contributed to our general disappointment." Mather, however, always pretended to have acted in good faith, and claimed the honor of having Plymouth annexed to Massachusetts instead of New York, in whose charter it was, at first, included. A separate colonial existence could not then have been obtained ; and, since a union with some other colony was necessary, there is no

doubt that such a union with Massachusetts would best promote the interests of the people of Plymouth, and was in accordance with their wishes. There is no evidence of the bad faith of Mather ; and the letter of his associate was probably written under feelings of extreme disappointment. The union, at first, was bitter to the people of Plymouth. They felt, that they had lost their distinctive political character, and that, as the immediate descendants of the Pilgrims, their rights had not been sufficiently respected. These feelings did not entirely subside for a number of years ; but at length a common origin and common interest made the people of the two colonies one in feeling, as they were one in their political organization ; and they now claim protection from the same free constitution of the Commonwealth, and feel a common pride and satisfaction in the heroic deeds, liberal views, and generous philanthropy of their fathers.

There was a distinction between the early settlers of the two colonies. Those of Plymouth were almost entirely English ; and there is probably no portion of North America, which has at the present day a population of so purely English descent as that. They, however, had not the wealth, rank, or learning of many of the early settlers of Massachusetts. They were men of strong minds, and made a proper estimate of the value of their political and religious principles. They placed but little value on wealth or rank. They acted from higher motives than these afford, and regarded the promotion of the good and happiness of the whole as the great object of government. They had, however, among them some men of preëminent talents and character. As a civil magistrate, Bradford, the father of the colony, (for Carver, who, chosen to set his name first to the charter, must be taken for "the noblest Roman of them all," died the first winter,) and for twenty-one years its governor, would, by his sound good sense and elevated patriotism, have done honor to any age. To his wisdom and discretion the colony owed much of its prosperity, and undoubtedly its prolonged political existence. Of the services of Brewster, we can hardly make too high an estimate. For twenty-four years he was the spiritual father and guide of the colony. He came with the Pilgrims, and with them he was willing to endure and suffer. Of the intrepid and courageous Standish, the leader in all military

enterprises, whether against the Indians, the followers of Morton at Merry Mount, or their Dutch neighbours, it was as true as of the Trojan, that success was never to be despaired of, when he led the way. So the Winslows, Allerton, Alden, Hatherly, Prince, and Hinckley were all good men and true, who, in all their efforts and sacrifices, had no other object in view than their country's good, and the progress of truth and righteousness.

This colony was small and its duration short ; but its influence on the character and condition of this people, and ultimately of the human race, was destined to be most important. Never was there a more successful experiment of popular government, combining all the strength and vigor of a monarchy with all the freedom and security of a republic. During the whole seventy-one years of the colony's existence, there were but six governors ; and two of these were in office during thirty-nine years of this period, — a period, too, not of repose and quiet, but of peril and excitement. In their intercourse with the Indians, the people of the colony present a bright example of humanity, and the same sense of justice is here witnessed, that pervaded all their public and private acts. Not a foot of the soil was taken from the natives without their consent, nor without the payment of an equivalent. The treaty with Massasoit for a half century was most scrupulously observed ; and it was not their fault, or the fault of that faithful sachem, but of his treacherous son, that it was at last violated. In their conduct towards the Quakers they were comparatively mild and humane, preferring to let their errors be promulgated, and die unobserved, rather than make them martyrs by the prison or the gallows. Their loyalty was firm, yet it was a loyalty to their own government and principles rather than to any foreign power. It was a love of liberty, and an adherence to the rights of Englishmen.

None of the passengers of the *Mayflower* survived the colony. Most of them died within thirty or thirty-five years after their arrival. The last survivor was John Alden, who lived till 1686.

ART. III. — *Exhibition of Pictures painted by Washington Allston at Harding's Gallery, School Street. Boston : 1839. pp. 8.*

THE recent exhibition of Mr. Allston's paintings invites us to offer a few thoughts upon the works of the artist and the art which he adorns. In doing so, we stand in the same relation to the subject of our remarks which we should hold with regard to an author still living and writing in the midst of us ; being restrained in some degree from the license of eulogy, and withheld from the freedom allowed in speaking of those who have passed from the scene of their labors. Yet is this delicacy due rather to the reader and to ourselves, than to the artist. The mind of one who has for many years been following his own serene course, passing from land to land, and from school to school, but always true to himself, and leaving traces of his history from time to time in gentle images and harmonious colors, must of necessity look with slight emotion upon the opinions of the unjust, the incompetent, the over inquisitive, and even the over idolatrous.

The undisputed claim of Mr. Allston to the first place in the roll of American artists, without reference to any higher pretensions which may be asserted for him, is too barren a laurel to be worn with much sense of glory. When his name shall belong to the past, who then will wear it ? Yet doubtless there are many, who think the whole debt of glory cancelled by the little word *first*, and criticism discharged of all her duties, when she has stamped it with her approval. We must speak more freely than only to echo the vote of the majority. One living man among us, and one only, has any right to be named in the highest walk of his art, as holding the pencil of a master. If we would learn how far his excellence extends, we must go elsewhere for our terms of comparison.

There can be no offence in these remarks ; for the time has not come for art to have accumulated its treasures and formed the public taste among us. For all the declamation about the sources of inspiration to be found in the grandeur of nature in our Western world, and the influences to be exerted by our free institutions, they have hitherto impressed

a tendency to the useful, rather than the beautiful, upon the national mind. The mountains and cataracts, which were to have made poets and painters, have been mined for anthracite and dammed for water powers. It is probable, that much more will depend on the yet undetermined character of the race, which will by and by assume one or more distinct national types under the influence of the material and social peculiarities of existence in the new world, than upon the terms of our constitution or the magnificence of our landscapes. The national character may be Attic or Bœotian, of Spartan vigor or Athenian elegance ; but it is safer to remember what we have accomplished than to predict what we shall do, while as yet we know so little of the direction to be given by circumstances to the mind and character of a new people, sprung from the mingling of as many races, as the first generation that grew up in Rome after the invasion of Alaric. Hitherto our masters in all the nobler paths of intellectual culture have been sought for in the old world ; and it is there we must look for the scale by which to measure any degree of excellence, that passes our ordinary standard of judgment.

If the subject of these remarks had any thing to fear from such sources, he might hold in dread two classes of critics. There are some who admire all pictures, especially if they are in richly ornamented frames. The strong primitive instinct for rich colors attracts them alike to the studio and the carpet warehouse, to the camera obscura and the kaleidoscope. In a great painting they are enraptured with some of those effects which belong to it in common with the most inferior work ; nay, if it have any extravagance of coloring or conception, they will be most apt to fix on this very point as chiefly to be admired. Their remarks, whether in speech or print, are worse than valueless, for they persuade others that, as soon as they have learned to see with a superficial critic's eye, they have studied out, — *approfondi*, as the Frenchmen say, — all that the artist has in him. There are many civil and pleasant creatures of this kind dangling about all picture galleries, as capable of judging of the nobler productions of genius, as they would be of criticizing the observations of Herschel, did they honor the firmament with a glance through their quizzing-glasses.

The other class of critics has been already described by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It consists of those, who, "not knowing what can or cannot be done, are very liberal of absurd praises in their descriptions of favorite works. They always find in them what they are resolved to find. They praise excellences that can hardly exist together; and, above all things, are fond of describing with great exactness the expression of a mixed passion, which more particularly appears to me out of the reach of our art."

Such are the two orders of umpires, that distribute fame among us with abundant liberality and sparing judgment. The reason of it is not difficult to discover. In this country we have but limited means of educating the eye and the taste to the just appreciation of the beautiful in art, as it has made itself familiar to all the cultivated classes in lands where centuries have been garnering up the tributes of generation upon generation. The great works of the great artists of the past may be said to be unknown among us. We educate ourselves upon what we find, and our standard becomes of course imperfect. The commonplace observer is readily pleased with a little glare and effect, and never acquires a relish for better qualities. The more enthusiastic and contemplative single out some master of loftier capacities, and break over him all their alabaster-boxes of sentiment and idealism. They remind us of the homely proverb, signifying that the bells ring in the tune that unwise heads are thinking of, — of the lady and the curate, one of whom saw whispering lovers, and the other cathedral spires, in the moon, — of Lord Peter, whose loaf of bread had in it the quintessence of roast beef, plum puddings, pies, and custards, — and all this because, as good Sir Joshua said, "they describe their own imaginations."

It is not invidiously, or with any assumption of superiority, that we make these remarks. It is because the standard of general taste must be considered, before we can truly feel how lonely is the summit that genius toils so long to gain. The eyes of many follow its course so long as it moves lightly up the flowery slopes, and turn away when it reaches the steep and difficult ascents; a few are ever peering with telescopes of doubtful transparency to see it reach some castle which they fancy in the clouds; but fewer are they,

who mark every step of its progress, and can measure its height when it has reached the extreme limit of its efforts. With all the honors and praises which have been bestowed upon Mr. Allston while among us, his final appeal for judgment cannot be considered as yet fully answered. It must be left, not, we hope, to "foreign nations," but to "his own countrymen when some time is passed over." There are, indeed, some few among us fitted by nature and trained by long study to speak with authority upon our artists and their works. It is by their silence, rather than by any forwardness upon our part, that we have been led to venture upon a task we should have gladly seen committed to other and abler hands.

The sketches of his own life given by Mr. Allston, and to be found in Mr. Dunlap's entertaining volumes, delineate his real history more vividly than many long biographies have done for their subjects. He mentions his early tendency to the imitative arts, but without attaching too much importance to so common a trait. From his fantastic images and miniature landscape-making he passed to drawing from prints, and then to original compositions of the scenes in romance that interested his boyhood. Becoming acquainted with the famous miniature painter, Malbone, he made some attempts in this branch, but, in his own words, "could make no hand of it." He succeeded better in oils about the same time (this was early in his college life), and even at this period painted a landscape with figures, which was afterwards exhibited at Somerset House. An old landscape, by an uncertain hand, at a friend's house in Cambridge, the pictures of Pine in the Columbian Museum, and Smibert's copy of the head of Cardinal Bentivoglio after Vandyke, in the College Library, were his models. It strikes us as a little singular, that our painter of love, and peace, and purity, and solemn story, should have shown an early fondness for comic scenes and banditti combats. A few years later, and Mr. Allston turned his attention to Scripture subjects, and produced two heads of Apostles, having thus run through in a natural order the various departments of painting, as yet wandering with little instruction and little apparent certainty of aim.

At the age of twenty-two Mr. Allston embarked for England, where he studied his art for three years. This was

the first time he had fairly found instruction, and it may not be idle to glance at the condition of the English school of painting at that period. Sir Joshua Reynolds had now been dead about ten years, and his distinguished contemporaries, Wilson and Gainsborough, some years longer. From them the rise of painting in England may fairly date its origin. The first by his magnificent portraits, full of individuality and spirit, and glowing with rich coloring, had elevated this branch of painting almost to historic dignity. His clear and noble views of art as taught in his lectures, his dignified and amiable character, had reflected new lustre upon his name as an artist. It seemed at times as if, to the less ambitious department in which he shone unrivalled, he might have added equal triumphs in the loftier department. The "Tragic Muse" in the National Gallery, although a portrait of the great actress of his time, is invested with a kind of abstract grandeur, that idealizes the real lineaments and outlines. Mr. Allston himself speaks of two of his pictures, which we have never seen, as showing what he "might have done in history." If the "Holy Family," which we have seen in the National Gallery, is an exhibition of his powers in this department, he sinks immeasurably below the purer standards; and, unhappily for his glory, at the side of this very painting, is the Venus instructing Cupid, of Correggio, to shame with grace and sweetness the wholly unpoetical representation of so much more holy a subject. But we suppose posterity has decided, that Sir Joshua was the Vandyke rather than the Raphael of rising art in England.

Of the two eminent landscape painters we have mentioned, Wilson, beyond question, was of the higher order. He sought in foreign lands for the subjects of his pencil, and, following in the steps of Claude and Poussin, endeavoured to find in the skies and scenery of Italy the same source of inspiration. But the nobility of his country wished for pictures of their country seats; and guineas were more indispensable than glory, and what he got hardly, he spent wrongly; so that Wilson, the first of English landscape painters, left no school behind him but that of his own masters.

Gainsborough was a thorough Englishman, who painted from nature, and nature in her simple aspects; aiming at no great effects of composition, but content with a hill, a cot-

tage, a clump of trees, a market-cart, a peasant girl, and such familiar objects. His legacy to his countrymen was the same nature from which he painted, and little beyond this.

Such were those whose fame still rested over the land where the young pilgrim was to be initiated in the first mysteries of his calling. They left behind them an improved state of art, but they had not created any thing like a standard, to which the student could look for models in the loftiest range of his profession. If the "English School," which Sir Joshua supposed might gradually form itself, and of which he thought Gainsborough would be remembered as one of the most eminent founders, had followed in the steps of the three artists we have mentioned, it would have aspired only to moderate triumphs. It was destined to grasp at a higher dominion under the reign of their most distinguished successor, one of our own countrymen.

When Mr. Allston arrived in England, Benjamin West, the successor of Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy, and the first painter in the country, must have been at the height of his glory. His welcome to his young countryman was marked with all the kindness that belonged to his amiable character. Of his excellent personal qualities, Mr. Allston has spoken warmly, but we do not know that he has publicly expressed his opinion of his merits as a painter. To West, at least, belongs the credit of having nobly dared, if not of having greatly accomplished, all that art can compass. A competent critic, Sir George Beaumont, has said ; "When we consider the determined perseverance he showed to persist in the high walk he had at first chosen, though there was not a grain of taste for it in the country at that time, it does him the highest honor, and I am ashamed of the recent ungrateful neglect of my countrymen." He was too ambitious in his aim, and too successful in his career, not to have made bitter enemies ; he ventured into the field which long ages had filled with genius, and was measured by the side of their colossal champions. Prolific almost beyond modern example, crowding his vast canvass with every image of human passion and superhuman majesty, his very failures were redeemed by the grandeur of his efforts. His deficiencies in some of the accessories, especially in color, are familiar to those who have studied his works.

But beyond this, so far as our opinion may be hazarded, there lies a deeper and more fatal cause for the neglect which his works have suffered. The spirit of the portrait painters, the same spirit which made Reynolds represent his Madonna with the aspect of an English farm girl, and carried Copley away from his courtly sitters to paint the House of Lords, with its peers and periwigs, and flamed out in the scarlet regimentals and crimson faces of Trumbull's heroes, — was still to be seen in the classic and sacred compositions of West, under the Roman's wreath, under the martyr's circlet, under the Magdalen's veil ; reducing all alike to the common national likeness of the living London model. In this he led the way for feebler successors, who still worked over the same material, patching and mending from year to year, until at length, when the last spark of expression had expired upon the pencil of Westall, the English artists returned to more congenial pursuits, and the public smiled once more for Wilkie, and Turner, and Lawrence. If Raphael, in the midst of Italian beauty, complained of the deficiency of the "belle donne," and was forced to look inwardly for what he did not find about him, how much more must this necessity be felt in the midst of the less glowing and expressive types after which the English people have been fashioned. It is not enough to equal nature *as we see it* habitually. The great Italian painters knew this well, and they went to crypts and ruins to trace the lineaments, which, in broken and faded colors, had outlived the race that wore them. The Flemish masters thought otherwise, and therefore, with all their wonderful powers, they have given us for angels and cherubs the plethoric wives and puffy children of their worthy burgo-masters. The ancient order has been often reversed ; seven fair women were moulded into one fairer image of old, but it has been oftener true in modern times, that one tolerable model has been multiplied into twenty intolerable pictures.

We have but imperfect means of determining what was the direction of Mr. Allston's studies during the three years he spent in England. He began by drawing from plaster, the usual discipline, we suppose, of the Academy, and appears to have been a ready scholar. We see no evidence of his having made any attempts in the higher branch of his art during this period. A *comic* picture, and a *Rocky Coast*

with his old favorites the banditti, and another landscape which he had painted in college, were his contributions to the annual exhibition at Somerset House. His comic picture found a purchaser, and he painted another for the owner to match it. In what other labors these years were passed we know not ; whether he imitated or avoided the example of the leader of the English school, or, taking from him only the ambition of hereafter excelling in the historical department, confined himself to academic studies and efforts of the humbler kind we have mentioned. Originality is never so absolute as many are fond of supposing, and our artist himself has rebuked the arrogance of *self-taught* genius and its worshippers with too much earnestness to let us suppose he could be sensitive in hearing it mentioned, that he had imitated one or another master during his progress to the fullness of his own powers. When a youth, we have said that he caught the passion for miniature painting from Malbone. In a few of his early sketches of the comic kind which we have seen, it is not hard to trace the influence of Hogarth, and we are as little disposed to regret that he relinquished the one as the other. We have not seen any attempt of this kind by Mr. Allston, which carries the mark of the pencil which his maturity has wielded.

It seems to us an exceedingly interesting circumstance, that, during his first residence in England, he should have given no more decisive evidence of the path he was to follow. Whether it were diffidence, or wisdom, or good counsel, that taught him to reserve his powers until he had broken from the world of English art, and sought the original fountains whence it first flowed, the fact is certain, that he escaped to a wonderful degree the effects which might have been anticipated from the example of his celebrated countryman, to whom, as an American, and as a kind friend, he must naturally have been strongly attracted. Now, although West himself was a man of great powers, and the best painter of his time in England, it would be hard to point out any very eminent example of success in those who have followed in his footsteps. The master who filled acres of canvass with so rapid a hand was of all models the most dangerous, the qualities in which he excelled, conception and general design of his subject, tending much more to lead the student

into an ambition beyond his capacities, than to give him thorough habits of doing well whatever might be within his reach.

From nearly all influence of this kind, we say that Mr. Allston seems to have escaped. There is nothing in his pictures to remind us, that they were painted in smoky London ;—no fog of Newman Street rests over his Egypt or Judea. Whatever effect his long and doubtless diligent studies in England may have produced upon his progress, they were happily employed in giving academic precision to the groundwork of his future excellence, rather than any sudden maturity of style, which would have left him to the fate of the mannerists he will outlive. The English historical school, —if West and his scholars could claim this title,—has often fallen into the local peculiarities of the life which they saw about them. It may have been pardonable in the earlier artists to have introduced cowls and mitres among the apostles, but we cannot now forgive the transplantation of familiar features and costumes into the representations of sacred story. Faces which are pleasant to look upon as they smile over the tea-table are not therefore in keeping with the solemn scenes of Scripture. Not to leave this fault without an illustration, we may refer to one among many such examples we could easily find ; and we take one that all may verify. In the picture of “Christ healing the Sick,” of which a tolerable engraving may be found in the work called “The National Gallery,” one of the prominent figures, a mother with a child in her arms, is marked by a trifling peculiarity of costume, which, strange to say, has been repeated in many paintings where it has equally destroyed the ideal at which the painters aimed. Because the milliners of Mrs. Siddons’s time thought it becoming to dress ladies with a *bandage round their faces*, as if they had the toothache, and because Mrs. Siddons thought fit to be so painted, (as everybody may see in the Stage Edition of Shakspeare,) was there any reason why West should enrich the daughters of Palestine with the graces of Pimlico ? We have preferred a trivial illustration to a mere peremptory accusation.

To have utterly avoided faults like those of which we have spoken, would seem almost a miracle in the history of a young artist, whose earliest instruction was given by those

who had become the masters of their time in spite of these faults. But it is plain, that the genius of Mr. Allston never expanded to its fair proportions until it was touched by another wand than the pencils of the English academicians. We doubt whether there are many critics living, who would venture a conjecture as to the country of our artist's birth, or where he passed his earlier time of study, from any thing to be detected in his paintings. And this brings us to the period at which his steps were turned to the true school where he learned and displayed his powers.

Mr. Allston left England for the continent in the year 1804. At that period, half the collections of Europe had been deprived of their choicest works, to enrich the Imperial gallery of the Louvre. An opportunity never again to be enjoyed was presented to the artist, of embracing in one glance, and enjoying in a single hour, the brightest treasures which three centuries had accumulated. Of the impressions which they produced upon the artist's mind, we have only one partial record ; and, although we can, perhaps, reconcile it with the course of his subsequent studies, and the acknowledged superiority which resulted from them, this record is hardly what we might have anticipated. The objects which he has commemorated as having "absolutely enchanted" him, — as having "taken away all sense of the subject," — were the paintings, not of the Roman or Lombard masters, but of the Venetian, — of Titian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese. And, as if conscious that we should wonder that the aspect of perfection in one of the secondary qualities of the art, namely, that of color, should have entranced the mind of one we should have thought most susceptible to the great poetical qualities, — the creative powers which call out scenes and characters, — Mr. Allston justifies himself by some ingenious remarks in which the state of mind produced by the *gorgeous concert of colors* is compared to that arising under the influence of music. The idea contained in these remarks is, that color, like music, has the power of setting the imagination at work, and indirectly suggesting a thousand ideas and feelings it does not immediately supply. A passion for this source of excitement, and a susceptibility to it, are, we should think, infinitely more rare than nicety of musical ear. The eye being the great intellectual organ, may possibly lose its *instinctive* delicacy more easily than the ear, which is less

constantly in relation with the judgment. A passion for color may exist with or without other attributes of a great artist. West, to whom we have so often referred, was deficient in perception of color; another artist, well known among us, who never ventured upon grave historical subjects, — Stuart Newton, — was conspicuous for his exquisite taste in this respect.

After a residence of some months in Paris, Mr. Allston went to Italy, where he remained four years, — a long life to a busy mind in the midst of every incitement to study, and surrounded by all the varieties of perfection as its models. Most of this time, as we learn, he resided in Rome. Here his character as a painter was formed, but of the exact course of his studies we have no information. It is from a hint or two scattered here and there, and from the testimony which his works themselves furnish, that we may put together a kind of mosaic representation of that course of study which he has left apparently to be made up from these fragments. It is enough for us, that, after his long residence in Italy, he returned to England a master in his art, — his very first effort being a complete triumph, and his subject no less a miracle than that which Michael Angelo and Sebastian del Piombo had chosen for their united powers, with the hope of rivalling the “Transfiguration” of Raphael.

Before hazarding some remarks upon the various characteristics of Mr. Allston’s style, we cannot but advert to a circumstance of great interest in his history. We allude to the long intimacy with Mr. Coleridge, which commenced during their residence in Rome. In the artist’s words, to no other man did he owe so much *intellectually*. We have sometimes wondered, when we have thought of “Christabel,” the sweet Unfinished, and “Belshazzar,” the great Unseen, if the fastidiousness, not to say caprice of the poet, may not have unconsciously mingled with the instruction for which the painter is so grateful. How easily a poetical mind acquires an influence over the painter, we may see in the works of Irving and Leslie, — where the same succession of scenes and characters that sparkles on the page of the one, glows on the canvass of the other. To those who remember the “Genevieve” of Coleridge, and have seen the “Rosalie” of Allston,

although in one love is conscious, and in the other slumbering, the same soul of purity, of trustful tenderness, of thoughtfulness, not mournful but akin to melancholy, will make the two seem as sisters.

“ Few sorrows hath she of her own,
My hope, my joy, my Genevieve ;
She loves me best whene'er I sing
The songs that make her grieve.”

— “ No, never came from aught below
This melody of woe,
That makes my heart to overflow,
As from a thousand gushing springs.”

— “ O, nothing sure the stars beneath
Can mould a sadness like to this,
So like angelic bliss.”

— “ So thought the gentle Rosalie,
As on her maiden reverie
First fell the strain of him who stole
In music to her soul.”

We have followed the steps of Mr. Allston up to the period at which he gave to the public the first great work, which was to be the evidence of the powers that had been so long in training. “ The Dead Man revived by touching Elisha's Bones,” was the first picture undertaken by Mr. Allston upon his return to England in 1811. From that period to the present time, whatever changes may have occurred in his style, his subjects and his mode of treating them have been uniformly marked with the daring and firmness of maturity ; and, considering his character as a painter from this time as formed, we can pass over more lightly the influences to which he was afterwards subjected, and, leaving the details which may hereafter belong to his biographer, look at the life of the artist as distinct from that of the individual.

No common painter would have dared to make his *début* in the full blaze of English criticism, by attempting a subject like that of the miracle of the awakening of the Dead. It must have been a boldness which was acquired beneath the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, — it must have been the habit of modelling from the Torso and the Laocoön, which prompted this rash and giddy effort. All the difficulties of

drawing and grouping, all the subtilties of expression, were to be mastered in the same composition, which seemed as if chosen, by the aspiring candidate for fame, in defiance of every circumstance that multiplied its dangers. Mr. Allston has recorded his unbounded admiration for Michael Angelo, in describing the impressions he first received from the works of the great Italian painters. In the first two pictures on the Catalogue of the late Exhibition, he has recorded the same feeling, with no doubtful hand, upon his canvass. To us, the magnificent picture of "The Dead Man restored to Life," seems not in all respects unexceptionable. The face expressing *unqualified terror*, though of wonderful truth, is too haggard and frightful to be brought into the very front ground of the picture. When Raphael once dared, — in the cartoon of "The Apostles healing the Sick," — to introduce the hideous forms and faces of two wretched cripples, he relieved the effect their prominence could not but produce, by the angelic graces with which Saint John is clothed as with a divinity. When, in "The Transfiguration," he drew the convulsed epileptic in all the struggles and contortions of his terrible disease, he disposed around him three figures whose expression is all tenderness and loveliness; and one, the most prominent of all, said to have been drawn from her whom he loved but too fondly, is fair and graceful enough to draw our eyes and thoughts away from the painful contemplation of the agonizing youth beside her. In Mr. Allston's picture, the fearful miracle which seems to be working even before our eyes, and the various expressions of astonishment and fear which the scene produces upon those around the figure thus miraculously restored to life, produce an effect which startles rather than attracts us. The tenderer passions, depicted in the other characters of the picture, are comparatively lost sight of in the midst of these terrible images of struggling death and life, of overwhelming astonishment and terror. Nothing but the most perfect delineation of the gentler feelings, in the most beautiful forms, could have neutralized, so to speak, the effect of their violent attitudes and expressions upon our feelings. Yet, as instances of anatomical truth, and of the bold drawing which follows from thorough familiarity with the structure of the whole frame, and of energy of ex-

pression, the prominent figures of this painting are worthy of the school from which they came ; that of the great sculptor, the force of whose chisel no other hand could equal, and whose paintings, like his marbles, were but too severe in their matchless truth and majesty.

It has been doubted how appropriately the light was represented as emanating from the skull of the prophet. We are not disposed to discuss the point ; it might be thought, indeed, to convey the chemical idea of phosphorescence, rather than that of divine efflux ; but this could only be to those who have less imagination than philosophy. We have not now the advantage, as we could wish, of carefully examining this picture in various lights, which doubtless should be done to acquire a just perception of all its details. That it received the highest honors of the British Institution at its Annual Exhibition is of comparatively little consequence ; for there was no historical painter in England at that time, to our knowledge (with the exception, if the reader chooses, of West), who ever conceived of laboring after merit such as this painting possesses. But that the artist, in his first great effort, should have so nobly trusted to his own powers, that he should have so triumphantly vindicated the seeming audacity of his venture, and, grappling with every human passion, and with the mysterious presence of superhuman power, should have chained them in this living and terrible group, — this is indeed an evidence of exalted powers and ambition.

To those who are fond of tracing resemblances we would mention the central group of Raphael's cartoon of "The Death of Ananias," as being possibly in our artist's recollection when this painting was conceived. The miracle is reversed, — the struggle is from life to death, and not from death to life ; the figure at the head of the dying man shows little more than astonishment, — that at his feet, on the other hand, recoils in unmingled terror.

The same daring spirit is shown in the subject of some other pictures painted not long after the one just mentioned, and still remaining in England. The first is, "The Angel liberating St. Peter from prison," painted for Sir George Beaumont, and now in a church at Ashby de la Zouch. The subject is similar to that of a fresco of Raphael's in the Vati-

can. Of the second picture, "Jacob's Dream," belonging to the Earl of Egremont, Mr. Allston says, "It has often been painted before, but I have treated it in a very different way from any picture I have ever seen; for, instead of two or three angels, I have introduced a vast multitude; and, instead of a ladder, or narrow steps, I have endeavoured to give the idea of unmeasurable flights of steps, with platform above platform, rising and extending into space immeasurable. Whether this conception will please the matter-of-fact critics I doubt; nay, I am certain that men without imagination will call it stuff! But, if I succeed at all, it will be with those whom it will be an honor to please." It is impossible that the reader should not be reminded by this description of the manner of treating his subjects adopted by Martin. Immensity of space, startling effects of perspective, innumerable multitudes melting together in dark myriads, and only illuminated at the point where the principal action is passing, vast masses of gorgeous architecture piled over each other, and spreading away until they are lost in the vague distance, — such are the elements with which this artist at first astonished, and at last satiated his admirers. It was scene-painting of an elevated order, a gigantic machinery of appliances, in the midst of which the actors were reduced to puppets, and the uncounted multitudes dwarfed away into bundles of pinheads. It was a brilliant paradox, impressive at first sight, but soon losing its effect. Heaven and hell had been carved in a nutshell before the days of Martin, but they had never been painted in the compass of a square yard. Ships had been wrought of ivory, with all their ropes and sails, that might have floated in a tea-cup; but the deluged world, with all its inhabitants, had never been crowded into the circumference of a napkin. Whether Martin's original hint came from the picture of "Jacob's Dream," we have no means of determining; but, if it were so, it would not have been the only instance in which he has borrowed from Mr. Allston. Of one thing we are certain, that our artist would never have sacrificed the great points of individual character and expression, for the sake of imposing effects obtained by theatrical artifice and extravagance.

"Elijah in the Desert," we have heard spoken of as being one of Mr. Allston's best pictures. This he brought

with him to America, where it was purchased by an English gentleman. The painting of "Uriel in the Sun" belongs to the Marquis of Stafford. The grandeur of the subject is in this picture of surpassing elevation, — to paint in all his effulgence the Angel of the Apocalypse, after the description of Milton.

" He soon
Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
The same whom John saw also in the sun :
His back was turned, but not his brightness hid ;
Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar
Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings
Lay waving round ; on some great charge employed
He seemed, or fixed in cogitation deep."

" The Archangel Uriel, one of the seven
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the Heavens, or down to the earth
Bear his swift errands."

A colossal figure, on the scale of fourteen feet in height, but foreshortened to nine feet, seen in the full blaze of the sunbeams, must have called forth all the painter's powers, and tasked them to the utmost. This painting too was honored with a liberal token of approbation from the directors of the British Institution. It must, therefore, be a great picture, because *not to fail* in delineating such a vision of glory was in itself a triumph of genius.

These are the most important of Mr. Allston's paintings while in England, his other works being of less pretension, and of various nature, so far as we can judge of them by the scanty record he has given us. Of these great pictures, one only was in the late exhibition. But there was still enough in this collection to illustrate the compass of the artist's powers, and, on a careful analysis, to afford an insight into the character of his various excellences, and the models he had proposed to himself for imitation.

The great picture of "The Raising of the Dead Man," was one of the chief ornaments of the exhibition. The remarks we have already made respecting this composition may perhaps explain the fact, that it was less the favorite of the crowd than some of the other paintings, although it was, from its position as well as its nature, the first to arrest attention.

One other painting, "Jeremiah dictating his Prophecy to

Baruch," may be traced also to the school of Michael Angelo, so far as the character of the subject, the colossal scale of its execution, and the severe simplicity which distinguishes it may justify this opinion. The face and head of the Prophet are full of grandeur and majesty. The drapery is, if possible, too simple ; but the painter has chosen to throw the whole force of his effort into the figure itself, and neglect all the accessories which might have recommended a less exalted subject.

On passing in review the series of historical pictures we have mentioned, we at once perceive that Mr. Allston has aimed to reach the loftiest sublimity in the conception of his great works. If we may judge those we have not, by those which we have, seen, he has treated his subjects with the dignity of conscious power, and, choosing the drapery of his art, as the fitting garment of noble thoughts, has thrown it, without one idle fringe or fold, over the pure and holy images that rose before his imagination. It remains for the future to decide upon the success of his greatest effort, — Belshazzar's Feast, — in expectation of which we have been fasting some few years, with only a cabinet picture from time to time to sustain us in endurance. We are disposed to admire the constancy with which Mr. Allston has resisted all the busy suggestions of curious and forward people, and waited for his own time and followed his own will. Because our artificers, the layers of brick and mortar, the wood-hewers and water-drawers, work on all days alike, and must be always true to their stipulated hour, is that any reason that we should subject the highest intellectual power, the creative imagination, to the same laws that govern the lowest, the least capricious and the least fatiguing of our faculties ? The factory wheels run day and night, and summer and winter ; but there are tranquil waters and silent souls, which an angel visits only "at a certain season."

It will be remembered, that the subject chosen by Mr. Allston for his greatest work has been already treated by Martin, in his usual style. It appears from one of Martin's letters, given by Mr. Dunlap, that he undertook this painting in consequence of an argument with Mr. Allston, who had mentioned his own intention, and the mode in which he meant to treat the subject. We remember hearing it said, but we know

not on how good authority, that the idea of making the principal light come from the miraculous letters on the wall, was borrowed from the American by the English artist. However this may be, the conception does not strike us as unlikely to occur to more than one mind at the same time, for it is only a modification of an idea long familiar to the poets and painters of the supernatural. In the famous "Notte" of Correggio, and in the "Adoration of the Shepherds" of Rembrandt, the infant Saviour is represented as the source of the light that shines upon the group around his cradle. The heads of saints in many of the ancient pictures, are surrounded with luminous halos, and Mr. Allston has extended the same attribute to the skull of the buried Prophet. Virgil had recourse to the same appearance in showing the presence of the divinity around Iulus. It is not so much in the thought of making the characters luminous, which seems obvious enough, that the merit of such a painting as "Belshazzar's Feast" could consist, nor in great architectural pomp, and the display of a gorgeous banquet-table, but in the just management of all these secondary objects of interest, and, infinitely more, in the truth and feeling with which the character and passions of human beings, under the influence of the sudden appearance of the Divinity, in the portentous warning that crossed their hour of revelry, should be displayed.

If any of our readers will glance at the Catalogue of the late Exhibition, they will see next upon the list "The Triumphal Song of Miriam on the Destruction of Pharaoh and his Host in the Red Sea." This painting forms the connecting point between the two series of our artist's works. The first series comprehends the pictures we have already mentioned; the second embraces the various representations of tranquil female beauty, of which "Beatrice" or "Rosalie" may be taken as the type. We have always considered "Miriam" as the happiest effort of Mr. Allston we have seen. It has, to be sure, the advantage of *action* to arrest the attention, while in others of his female figures he trusts wholly to expression. But we can give better reasons for our preference. "Miriam" has all the dignity of an historical painting; it is a scene in which there is only one actor, but a terrible tale is told by her triumphant lips, and the yet heaving ocean is

rolling sullenly in upon the beach the wrecks that prove its truth. The painting has all the individuality too of a portrait, and thus gains the advantage of producing one clear and instant impression, without the analysis the mind must go through in contemplating a varied composition. Besides this, the style of coloring adopted in this picture, so far as we may be allowed to judge, (and this is one of the mysteries of art, of which we ought to speak diffidently,) is superior to that of almost any of the artist's productions. In fact, the whole painting recalls Titian to our minds with singular force; the same robust and gorgeous mould of vigorous beauty, and the same transparent flesh, the same dark, rich drapery, which have made so many ages wonder, and despair to learn by what alchemy he changed his colors into molten jewels as they flowed upon the canvass.

We cannot speak in the same terms of "The Witch of Endor raising the Spirit of Samuel before Saul." In regard to this picture, we feel almost compelled to retract one of our previous remarks. We do think that we see the scholar of West in these faces and attitudes, and we do feel compelled to own, that we find a little something in common between this picture and the works of that most prolific illustrator of Bibles and prayer-books, some twenty years since, who, having three or four stereotyped faces and forms, applied them like the Nuremberg Chronicle, to all the characters of sacred and profane history in succession. Sure at least we are, that the impression produced on us by this picture reminds us of Westall; but it is very possible, that we may be mistaken as to the resemblance, and at any rate we have nothing else in the works of Mr. Allston to countenance such an impression.

An elaborate painting of Mr. Allston's, which came to the exhibition from the South, "Donna Mencia in the Robber's Cavern," was one of the greatest favorites in the exhibition. A woman in distress affects most minds more strongly than a suffering angel; and this scene of purely human character served as a pretty touchstone, to try the sympathies of the many who circled the gallery. The picture has great depth and richness of color, and by its brilliancy, as well as its subject, arrests the attention of all. It has, independently of its merits, the interest belonging to it as a work of

a different style from any of Mr. Allston's finished paintings, and may be the realization by the artist, in the maturity of his powers, of some of those conceptions of banditti adventures for which he has recorded his early fondness. The expression which characterizes Gil Blas and Donna Mencia, the charm of his ingenuous and graceful youth, and the beauty of her features, in the marble stillness of grief and horror transcending all outward show of emotion, give a tragic dignity to this melodramatic subject.

Among the most remarkable and characteristic of Mr. Allston's works are a series of female heads of expression, varying in many points, but all sisters of the same family. Such are "Beatrice," "Rosalie," "A Roman Lady," "The Valentine." In other instances, he has given his subjects at full length, and, calling in the attractions of landscape to his aid, has yet contrived that nature shall so harmonize with the state of the beings he has represented, that the air, and the earth, and the heavens shall seem but as the emanation or reflection of those whom they surround. On some of these pictures we may hazard a few remarks. It strikes us that the general *tournure*, the outline, the attitude of Beatrice, are most graceful and happy. There is all the simple ease of Raphael in the air of this picture. But we do not think it equal in expression to Rosalie, or in coloring to the Valentine. It wants more tenderness, or more sadness; we look and *ask* what is the expression of the features, instead of looking and *feeling* what it is. Mr. Allston cannot wonder at remarks of this kind, for he knows the infinite difficulty of giving those shades of expression which have been his favorite attempts, — but those who "describe their own imaginations" will wonder at it much. To represent a strong and simple emotion is a thing of comparatively little difficulty. The common drawing-books will give the learner models for hatred, scorn, wonder, grief, and even love. But to represent, as in Beatrice, the susceptibility of womanly feelings rather than their expression, or, as in "Rosalie," to attempt to write upon her lineaments what love will be rather than what it is, is more than we can hope for any art to compass. There will always be strongly imaginative minds, who will see in these fair images all that the painter could wish to have them; but the experience of all time has shown, that forcibly marked

character, whether of strength or beauty, or at any rate strong expression, must be impressed upon the marble or the canvass, if they would appeal to the common taste and heart.

There is more of warmth and soul in the expression of "Rosalie" than in "Beatrice." The eye in particular is of great beauty. But the effect of the foreshortened face, however admirable the drawing, is to compress the features, and perhaps take away from the first effect of the picture. In "Rosalie" we see, even more than in "Beatrice," the softness of outline and haziness of atmosphere which have characterized many of Mr. Allston's later productions. The "Valentine" lady has far less of the ideal, and far more of breathing life about her than "Rosalie"; it is a real woman, and not a poetical vision. In color and costume, it appears to us admirable, and we are only disposed to ask, why the artist should not only avoid all meretricious ornaments, all affected grace, but should also somewhat neglect the commonly received notions as to beauty of features.

In the expression of that vague condition of the female mind and heart, where there is tranquillity at the surface, while the elements which make up so large a share of woman's existence are lying just beneath, and, as it were, only to be suspected through any outward sign, it is obvious that the accessories of the principal figure may be made of great significance in giving meaning to the delineation. For this reason, we are more pleased with the full length paintings; such as the "Evening Hymn" and the "Spanish Girl," than with the half-lengths. In the first of those just mentioned, for instance, the effect of the "dim religious light," which blends softly together the hard outlines of day; the character of the architecture, of which just enough is seen; the mellow shadows, in the clear depths of which a strong light will reveal new objects to the spectator; the character of holy repose, that spreads, as if from the maiden's soul, to her features and her figure, and outwardly into all the inanimate things around her; produce upon us an influence which proves the power of these harmonious combinations in suggesting images hardly to be directly delineated.

More obvious if possible is the same truth in "Lorenzo and Jessica." If the atmosphere of the painting last noticed was the mysterious twilight of religion, that of the picture we

now mention is glowing with the tremulous light of love. Any elaborate display of scenery would have broken the unity of the scene ; the outlines of a few edifices in the horizon are quite simple and serve to relieve the bright moonlight, which seems to have borrowed a warmth not its own from the hearts of the young lovers upon whom it is smiling.

We are tempted to make a few remarks upon some of Mr. Allston's landscapes, but we feel even greater difficulties in forming our opinions respecting this class of productions than with regard to others. There is so much of profound art in the composition of a landscape, so much of mysterious skill in managing the lights and tints which are spread by nature with such infinite variety over her works, so much individual truth to be combined with general harmony, that we have always felt the incompetency of any eye but an artist's to judge truly of all the merits or defects of this class of paintings. The poetical character of Mr. Allston's mind shows itself in his landscapes as much, perhaps, as in any of his productions. It is a great error to imagine, that the highest reach of the landscape painter consists in giving an accurate copy of some particular scene ; as much so as to suppose, that an exact portrait of an individual is as elevated a work of art as the ideal Apollo or Venus. Sir Joshua Reynolds has contrasted the Flemish and Dutch landscape painters with Claude in this respect. Which of these masters Mr. Allston has followed cannot be doubtful. The poetical feeling which Claude, more than any other landscape painter, has thrown into his pictures, may be a dangerous gift. The best living English artist in this department, Turner, has doubtless been led away from the truth of nature, by following too ardently the seductive light of his own imagination. It may have been the good fortune of Mr. Allston to have been so long removed from the competition of academies and exhibitions, that he has avoided the temptation of soliciting the continued notice of the public by means of novelty and artificial extravagances. The habit of *painting up to each other*, of struggling for brilliancy and strong contrasts, in order to avoid being thrown into shadow by more ambitious artists, is doubtless one of the dangers that tends to corrupt the simplicity which belongs to genius. Without saying that Mr. Allston has ever reached the per-

fection of the unrivalled master who dipped his pencil in the sunshine, we must allow that his landscape paintings are among the most remarkable we have seen among those of the followers of Claude Lorraine, for their composition, their coloring, the truth of their atmospheric effects, the grace and propriety of the figures introduced, and the true poetical spirit with which they are conceived. The colder and classical style of the learned Poussin is less congenial to the mind of Mr. Allston ; yet in the few landscapes we have seen of his, — and there were two or three in the late exhibition which remind us of this master, — his spirit was most happily preserved without any servility of imitation.

Our country has the right to claim, then, at least one great name upon the list of living artists. On him descended those nameless influences, which, in all countries and ages, have from time to time fallen upon such as Heaven has chosen, to delineate and adorn in various modes the images that fill the worlds of reality and of dreams. In the midst of the trials and fatigues of common life, from which none of us, and least of all the artist, escapes, he has been laboring for us and for our children, to combine the scattered beauties of nature, to reproduce in more permanent form the shapes that alternately are moulded and melted away among the clouds of imagination, to call back in renewed existence the creations of the past. And it is not mere natural genius to which we owe our admiration and gratitude, but genius improved by patient study, refined by still seclusion, warmed by good affections, and therefore diffusing itself in images as finished, as pure, as full of gentle feelings ; even as one planet is reflected with the same light from the bosom of many waters. Born in a country where the art of painting scarcely had an existence, subjected to the same academical instructions which have been so fertile in producing mediocrity among the English painters, he seems to have followed only the purest models of the best days of Italian art. And, whether we trace in his loftiest efforts the daring of Angelo, or detect in his clear and glowing tints the pencil of Titian, or see in his soft gradations of light the delicate hand of Correggio, in all we can equally trace the influence of the painter's own mind upon the ideas transfused into it from others ; showing a power which will lend to the future more than it has borrowed from

the past. It can only be when time shall have added his mysterious charm to our artist's productions, when they shall have become familiar to the popular eye as are the constantly repeated works of the old masters, when the general taste shall have reached a far higher standard than at present, that the verdict of posterity will be announced. If our republic should be destined like Rome to triumph in every thing but in sculpture and painting, she has at least begun with better auspices. The courtly grace and bearing of our ancestors before the Revolution survive in the forms that fill the ample canvass of Copley; the fathers of our republic and the first race of her citizens are recalled in the brilliant life that flowed from the pencil of Stuart; the rebellious Colony sent one of her rude children to rule over the Academicians of her royal mistress; and, if the century which has given their names to immortality shall complete its tribute with only one other name, — but that the brightest and noblest of all, — its offering to the arts has been worthy of what may be hereafter called the heroic age of the country.

ART. IV. — 1. *History of British Birds*, by WILLIAM MACGILLIVRAY. Vol. I. London: Scott, Webster, and Geary. 1837. 8vo. pp. 631.

2. *Ornithological Biography*, by JOHN JAMES AUDUBON. Vol. V. Adam and Charles Black. Edinburgh. 1839. 8vo.

THE author of the former of these volumes is a Scotch naturalist, who aided Mr. Audubon, in the preparation of his last volume, with many of the anatomical descriptions. From the same authority, our great ornithologist evidently learned to pay attention to the digestive and respiratory organs of birds, as well as to the obvious marks of distinction, which are open to every eye. In his own work, Mr. Macgillivray gives an outline and example of the manner in which he himself proceeds. All who have attended to the subject, have been vexed, if not bewildered, by the various forms of nomenclature and classification. The general similarity of the dif-

ferent species has rendered it difficult to arrange them into well-defined portions, so that, while one system gives thirty-eight companies, there are but four in another. New facts and observations are perpetually running across these lines of separation ; and, while they show that the system needs reform, they make it equally clear that there is little hope of making it so correct, that it shall not require continual changes to keep up with new observers. Every one, who is at all interested in the subject, knows how much the doctors of the science disagree as to the order to which certain birds belong ; and this too, when the marks, which assign their place, are as obvious as a nose on a face, or a weathercock on a steeple.

The classification of Linnæus had reference to the form of the feet and the bill, principally the latter. According to the varieties of shape in this organ, he arranged birds into six orders. But, in many cases, the genera run into each other, and to some in each the distinguishing marks of the order do not apply. Vieillot, therefore, finding this classification not sufficiently exact, constructed another system, in which he was governed by the form of the feet. It is composed of five orders, with fifty-eight families ; but is open to the same objection which he made to the arrangement of Linnæus ; it being often exceedingly difficult to determine to what order or family a new found, and sometimes even a common bird belongs. Various other systems, which it is not necessary to mention, have been proposed, each liable in a measure to the same objection. One of the most curious of these attempts is the Quinary system of Mr. McLeay. According to him, all the animals in any particular group have particular characters, the union of which he calls a *type* ; in proportion as the species in the group are more or less like this type, he calls them more or less typical. The *centrum* or perfection of a group is, in fact, that part of the circumference of the circle of affinity which is farthest from the neighbouring group. One portion of a group is said to be always *normal*, that is, according to rule, or corresponding with the *type* ; another portion is always *aberrant*, that is, wandering from the rule, or not exactly corresponding with the *type*. The birds are arranged in a circular series, always consisting of five members, which gives it the name of the Quinary system. In groups which form the passage between neighbouring groups of higher denomination than themselves,

the pleasing name of *osculant* is applied. Laying aside the *osculant* groups, every natural group is divisible into five, which also admits of a *binary* distinction, that is, into two and three. All the objects of creation may thus be brought together into circular groups of fives. When the number five cannot be mustered in any particular group, the reason assigned is, that the deficient member has perished from the face of the earth, or that it remains to be discovered. If this does not give our readers a clear view of the Quinary system, we know not what will. They may possibly be reminded of the remark of Dr. Johnson, on a new invention, in which a man might move himself on a public road. He said, that in ordinary cases one had only himself to carry ; but here he had to carry himself and the machine too.

Mr. Macgillivray proposes to reject these distinctions founded upon external appearance, and to resort to dissection for surer and more definite marks by which to classify the birds. After examining a great number of birds in nearly all the families, he has adopted the intestinal canal as the central point of reference. Instead of merely describing the bill and feet, he attends to the mandibles, the mouth, the tongue, the throat, the œsophagus, the crop, the stomach, the intestine, and the cœcal canal, the modifications of which, he thinks, throw more light on the affinities of the larger groups than those of any other organ. But, after the fate of the various systems of Linnæus, Latham, Blumenbach, Illiger, Vieillot, Temminck, and Cuvier, which have passed away in succession without obtaining very general acceptance, Mr. Macgillivray does not feel much confidence to propose another, but states his opinion, that the internal construction of the bird has been too much neglected, and that, if we must choose between the external and internal markings, the latter are most to be relied on of the two. Mr. Macgillivray seems aware, that his system will not find favor with those who have depended on external appearance only. He quotes with some displeasure the remarks of Mr. Swainson, who says, that the study of the outward is more important than that of the inward organization, since only professed anatomists could ascertain the latter, and in cases of rare birds, which could not be procured for dissection, we should be wholly unable to determine where to arrange them. The question seems to be similar to that between the eyes and the nose, as to the degree in which

each was important to the spectacles. It is pretty clear, that one cannot well ascertain what the food of a bird is without examining its crop and digestive organs; and the food indicates its favorite haunts, where its modes of flying and walking, its notes and migrations, can be observed, with all the other particulars which it is important for the ornithologist to know.

Mr. Macgillivray divides the birds of Europe into four groups, determined by their mode of life. The first he calls *Volatoria*, or Aërial birds, because they are specially addicted to the air, in moving from one place to another. This is divided into four orders; the *raptores* or plunderers, the *excursores* or snatchers, the *volitatores* or skimmers, and the *immersores* or dippers. The second section consists of the *Ambulatoria* or Land birds, divided into seven orders; the *rasores* or scrapers, the *gemitores* or cooers, the *deglubitores* or huskers, the *vagatores* or wanderers, the *cantatores* or songsters, the *scansores* or climbers, and the *reptatores* or creepers. The third section consists of the *Grallatoria*, or Wading birds, divided into four orders; the *palpatores* or gropers, the *cursoriores* or runners, the *exploratores* or probers, and the *expectatores* or watchers. The fourth section consists of the *Natatoria* or Swimming birds, divided into the *cribratores* or sifters, the *urinatores* or divers, the *mersatores* or plungers, and the *spoliatores* or robbers. Each of the orders contains several families, under which the genera are arranged. This classification, he says, is made for his own use, and he does not profess to expect its general adoption.

Mr. Audubon, in his last two volumes, has given in his adhesion to the opinions of his friend Macgillivray, so far as respects the anatomy and internal organization of birds, and has inserted many drawings of their organs of respiration and digestion, fully believing that the time will come when these markings will be first consulted. In this he is probably right; and such illustrations and descriptions will add to the permanent value of his work; but they take something from its unity, as a whole, and lessen its attraction for the general reader; besides that the additional labor, which they require, has induced him to give up those episodes, descriptive of scenery, life, and manners, which harmonized well with the subject, and formed one of the chief attractions of the "Biography." In these sketches he was

eminently fitted to excel ; his most adventurous and wandering life has furnished him with materials in profusion, and his calm and philosophic good-nature, always looking to the bright side, has enabled him to describe them with truth and animation. Having a deep sympathy with the pathetic, and a quick perception of humor, he has found something everywhere suited to his various readers, and, what is of more importance, throwing light upon the regions he has passed through ; so that, however important his anatomy may be, we cannot but regret the absence of these pictures of life and nature, unless the results of his travels and observation should be given to the public in some other form.

It is about sixteen years since the first number of his "Illustrations" appeared, and we are rejoiced to congratulate him on the heart and hope with which he has carried on his undertaking from small and discouraging beginnings to a successful and triumphant close. To publish a work so magnificent seemed an undertaking bold even to rashness ; and the greater part of his friends advised him to abandon the plan and leave the field to other observers. But he had that confidence in himself, which was not in the least presumptuous, but founded on a just estimate of his own resources ; and, after he had listened with deference to the counsels of others, he came to conclusions different from theirs. They seemed to have reason on their side ; for when he delivered the first drawings to the engraver, he had not a single subscriber, and was incurring great expense, without any certainty of repayment, either in money or in fame. But it is well for himself and the world that he persevered. After four years of labor and anxiety he completed his first volume of the "Birds of America" ; but even then, though his fame was established, his success was by no means sure ; for we find that at least one hundred and twenty of the subscribers on whom he depended, have failed him at various times since the publication began ; — an immense proportion, since it appears by the list, at the end of the fifth volume, that only one hundred and sixty-one have been faithful to the last.

We parted from the illustrious ornithologist at the close of the second volume, in which the results of his voyage to Labrador were set down.* In the third volume he deviated,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLI. p. 194.

we believe, from the course originally proposed, so far as to give the water-fowl, without waiting to complete the list of land birds, a course which we apprehend was urged upon him by others. The former would naturally come last in such a work as this, since they are spread over a vast extent of coast, are wild in their habits, and, having their haunts in the clefts of rocks or on the waves of the ocean, present a more difficult study, requiring more time and closer observation than the other. But in that single volume he has an account of about sixty species, not described by Wilson. Some of his best descriptions of birds are found in this volume ; such as that of the Canada goose and the mallard ; and he shows how general is his observation of nature in the account of the sun-perch, which forms the subject of one of those pleasant episodes just mentioned. He was struck with its earnest care of its eggs, and the quickness with which it removed any substance that happened to fall upon the bed. Placing a worm upon a hook, he sunk it so that it fell upon the border of the nest, where he allowed it to rest upon the bottom. The little fish kept watch on his motions, and, taking the worm in its mouth, carried it gently over to the side nearest to him, as an intimation that he might remove it if he would. He then tried a grasshopper with the same success ; afterwards, a naked hook was cast upon the nest, which seemed to trouble the little fish, as if it was conscious of danger ; but after a time it gathered courage, and, taking the hook up with great care, it dropped it over the edge of the bed. No bait whatever could tempt the fish to bite at that time, careless as it is on other occasions ; and, after beating the water with his rod, he saw, as soon as the water became clear, that the fish was busy smoothing its agitated bed. Such passages as this show the true lover of nature, who is not enslaved to his own pursuit, but has an eye for every thing which can enlarge the boundaries of science, or increase our admiration of the works of the Creator's hand.

After an interval of about three years, the fourth volume appeared in the summer of 1838. He was desirous to explore the western coast of the Floridas, and for that purpose was aided by the government, a revenue cutter being placed at his disposal, in which he sailed, in 1837, from the mouth of the Mississippi to Galveston Island, in Texas, examining

the various points on his way. After being exposed to venomous insects and withering heat, not to speak of wading through deep mud for days together, the result was, that he did not encounter a single bird which was not previously known. It was, however, of some service in determining the migratory movements and geographical distribution of many of those wayfarers which come from the south in summer, and in winter retreat before the northern storms. On his return to England, he had the mortification of finding, that many of his British subscribers had discontinued their subscriptions, and those who remained were so desirous of seeing the work completed, that he was obliged to crowd a number of different species into the same plate, in order to hasten to a conclusion. Meantime, Dr. Townsend returned from his Northwestern expedition, with a new and valuable collection of birds, which he was ready to supply ; and these, in spite of threatenings from some, and actual refusal from others to continue their subscriptions, Mr. Audubon published, being inflexibly determined to make the work complete.

We cannot undertake to give an account of this fourth volume, which is full of minute and lifelike description. We must, however, make an exception in favor of the ruff-necked humming-bird (*Trochilus rufus*), which was first discovered by Captain Cook in the vicinity of Nootka Sound. Dr. Richardson and Mr. Drummond do not appear to have seen it ; but Mr. Nuttall and Dr. Townsend found it in the Blue Mountains of the Columbia River. They describe it as resembling a "breathing gem or carbuncle of living fire," opening its splendid ruff as if in rivalry of the sun. If any one approached the nest where the females were sitting, the males would dart out like burning coals, passing very near the face of the intruder with their arrowlike flight, at the same time uttering a sharp, bleating sound. The nest is like that of the common species, and the female resembles ours in the quiet composure with which she keeps her place while sitting. On a clear day, the male may be seen rising to a great height in the air, and then, after descending near the ground, rising again to the same height as at first, describing half of a great circle in this curious evolution. When coming down, it makes a sound astonishingly loud for so small a creature, resembling the rubbing together of trees in a high wind.

We may also remark, for the edification of those, if any remain, who believe in the wintry submersion of swallows, that Mr. Audubon found immense numbers of the bank swallow in East Florida in winter. The green-backed and barn swallows were also there, but not so numerous as at New Orleans. The transient cold weather, which sometimes occurs in Florida, proves fatal to many ; on one occasion, when ice was formed in the waters, many were found dead along the shores, while the rest were evidently troubled in mind, and preparing to retreat to some warmer country. And thus, when overtaken by the cold in their summer residences, many die in their holes or on the water, and some are found in a state bordering on torpidity. Mr. Audubon discovered a new species at the south, resembling our bank swallow so much as to be confounded with it at first sight, but, when examined, obviously different from it in some particulars of form and markings. The violet-green, a new species and more beautiful than any other known, is described by Mr. Nuttall, who met with it in the table-land of the Rocky Mountains, where it seemed to occupy the deserted nests of the Cliff swallows, instead of building new ones of its own. From Dr. Townsend, we learn, that the Cliff swallow, near Columbia River, attaches its nest to the trunks of trees ; and Mr. Audubon assures us, that he has seen nests of barn swallows in chimneys, and on the sides of wells. If so, it shows that we can rely but little on habits of this kind in distinguishing one species from another.

The closing volume of the "Biography" appeared in the early part of the last year ; and it must have been with various and uncertain feelings, that the author saw his labors drawing to an end. On the one hand, he was sure that he had raised an imperishable monument to commemorate his own renown ; all the anxieties and fears which overshadowed the commencement of the enterprise had passed away ; the prophecies of his kind but overprudent friends, who did not understand his self-sustaining energy, had all been proved untrue ; the malicious hopes of his enemies, — for even the gentle lover of nature has enemies, — had been disappointed ; he had secured a commanding place in the respect and gratitude of men ; like the traveller, reaching his home, after a long and difficult journey, he had secured a treasure of rich and

glowing recollections, to warm his own heart in his declining years, and to kindle enthusiasm in his children's children. But, on the other hand, he had parted from an enterprise which for years had formed the subject of his thoughts by day and of his dreams by night ; he had lost the employment which had kept all his powers of body and mind in healthy though intense exertion ; whatever works he might afterwards engage in, the great work of his intellectual life was finished ; he was no more to hear the woodthrush singing its matin song above him as he waked from his bed in the forest, nor to see the silver water-bird diving before the ripple of his light canoe. Surely, it must have been with a strange mixture of feelings that he could say, that his great warfare was accomplished ; and his trumpet of victory at the result must have given an uncertain sound, partly exulting in his success, and partly lamenting that his great work was finished.

Feeling, as well he may, that he has done his part in the service of science, he now recommends to others to pursue the same course, assuring them that, after all which has been accomplished, much yet remains to do. Since Wilson's work was completed by the addition of the ninth volume, the number of American birds known to science has doubled. From the suggestions of Dr. Townsend, and other bold adventurers, who have explored the northwestern regions, there is reason to suppose that every diligent observer will find something to add to the list ; Captain Ross and Captain Back both say, that they saw curious birds, which had not been described, and which they were unable to secure. Mr. Audubon says, that he has had the same experience in Labrador, Newfoundland, and even in the inhabited portions of the United States. New discoveries are constantly made in the most familiar places ; witness the Hudson's Bay titmouse, which Mr. Greene has found in Brookline, and the amount of information furnished to the work before us by Dr. Brewer, of Boston. Such being the encouragement, (and it is not necessary to speak of the attraction of the pursuit,) there can be no doubt, that the path will be trodden by many enterprising feet. Many could be named in this vicinity, who are giving an earnest and judicious attention to the subject where their time is employed with other labors, and their advantages for the study are but few, and who nevertheless are adding to

our knowledge, by their watchful observations, with a zeal and intelligence worthy of all praise. The advice which Mr. Audubon gives to any who resolve to tread the path where he has gone before them, illustrates his own character and ways of proceeding. It is to leave nothing to memory ; in some things it may be safely trusted, but not in these observations. They must be carefully written down with *ink*, and not with the treacherous pencil. If the adventurer should traverse hundreds of miles, searching all the woods, barrens, shores, and marshes, he must not permit himself to be vexed with his ill success ; for sometimes, after days and even weeks of unrewarded labor, one may enter a grove, or come upon a pond, or find his way through the tall grass of the prairie, and there have at once before him what he most desires to see. He imagines one of these wayfarers on the side of the Rocky Mountains, alone with Nature, surrounded by turrets of stone, shooting up all about him to the skies. His trusty gun has brought down a pheasant ; the demands of science are first to be answered. He takes an exact measurement of all its parts, and notes down a short description, which is read twice over, in order to correct errors and supply what is wanting. The skin is then taken off with care ; but, instead of listening to what hunger has to say, he follows Mr. Macgillivray's directions, and examines the internal organs with even more care than the outward markings. This done, he feels at liberty to think of his own wants, which begin to be somewhat clamorous ; and, after broiling the bird on a fire kindled with his fowling-piece, he washes it down with Nature's own champaign from the neighbouring brook, which satisfies his thirst, and leaves no aching head. Then he lies down, like Jacob in the wilderness, with a stone for his pillow, but dreams neither of earth, nor of heaven, nor of the ladder that connects the two. In the morning, he packs his bird-skin, rolls up his drawing, and goes on his way rejoicing ; sometimes with success, sometimes without it, but always satisfied that the pursuit itself, like virtue, is its own sufficient reward.

In this volume, Mr. Audubon gives an account of a short excursion to the Highlands of Scotland, in company with his friend Macgillivray, which is interesting, though not connected with the case in hand ; interesting because it is char-

acteristic, showing how he, after his education in the American wilderness, was affected by scenery which resembles it in wildness, though not in power. This is what interests us in every well-written tour ; the more we know of the writer, the more does it engage us ; because we are able, from a comparison of ourselves with him, to know how we should be affected in the places which he visited, and with the scenes before us which he saw. Mr. Audubon took passage at Edinburgh in a small steam-boat bound for Stirling. The skies were clear and serene, the waters were alive with shoals of fish, the gulls keeping watch above them ; the cormorants stood pondering on the rocks, and the guillemots and auks dived or flew away as the boat approached them. The steam-boat was deliberate enough for a passage-boat, but it went too fast for him, and he solemnly resolved, that, if ever he visited the Highlands again, it should be on foot, "since no man, with nerve and will, and an admirer of the beauties of nature, can ever truly enjoy the beauties of travelling unless he proceed in that manner."

After passing the night at Callender, his nature speaks again. "If travellers are sluggards, I pity them in my heart ; for, depend upon it, nature is never more beautiful, than when she bathes herself in the morn in her own dewy waters." The meadows, though it was autumn, were yet green, the hills purpled with heather, and, as the sun's rays dispelled the mist that lingered on the summits of the mountains, he thought he had never beheld scenery that interested him more. But his own pursuits recur to him, and he says, "Had we dog, and gun, and privilege to shoot, we might strike perhaps a grouse, perhaps a black-cock." But the roar of a cataract comes upon his ear ; the stream, descending into the ravine, is on its way to the river below. He descends the rocky pass, steps over a crazy bridge, reaches the projecting angle of a rock, and gazes upon the scene. He had seen hundreds of streams equally turbulent ; but none so curiously confined in its rocky banks, nor so abrupt in its various falls. He thought of the retreat it must have afforded to the Celts in their wars with their Saxon neighbours, but was powerfully reminded of similar natural fortresses belonging to our own sons of the forest, where they are not yet dislodged by the avarice of those, who,

— *lucus a non lucendo*, — so fantastically denominate themselves civilized men.

When he came to the Trosachs, so renowned in Scottish minstrelsy, he was regaled, at the inn, with the sight of many who had come from various parts of the three kingdoms, either to enjoy the scenery, or to be able to say that they had been there. This intelligent party were smoking their cigars, and prating about the merits of their wines, evidently regarding their dinner as the most important concern of life. It never occurred to him, that this was a trait of national character; he was too much a man of sense, to run from slender premises into rash and sweeping conclusions. But, the male and female wiseacres from abroad who bless our country with their presence, if they find a few such examples in the neighbourhood of romantic scenery, are ready to die in the faith, that Americans are no lovers of nature, and that it was a strange oversight to place Niagara in a land so tasteless as ours. He remarks, that the crags of the Trosachs did not affect him so powerfully, covered with verdure, as if they had been bare; not because they were not grand in themselves, but because he had been accustomed to vast forests and majestic trees at home.

But we cannot follow him in his tour, and will only express the hope, that he will hereafter find some opportunity to give the world more of his fresh and bold descriptions of what he has seen in his various wanderings. We have much already in his episodes; but there must be hundreds of passages more, of equal, perhaps greater interest, to readers, if not to him. We find, in tales of common experience, that the most homely description of humble life takes stronger hold of the feelings, than the most ambitious imaginations; so there are many things which travellers pass over, because they are familiar; and yet, if they could but be persuaded of it, these are the very things, which the reader is most desirous to know. Portraits, too, like that of Bewick, might be added, without any violation of propriety; for, while coxcombs, male and female too, if such a thing may be, can hardly tread upon that ground without offending, there is no danger, that a modest, sensible, and well-bred man, shall wound the feelings of any, or make it necessary for the hospitable to close their doors.

The first three birds described in the fifth volume, are dif-

ferent kinds of troopial, lately discovered in the West. The first, the red and white-winged troopial, *Icterus tricolor*, was found by Mr. Nuttall in Upper California, where it is very abundant round Santa Barbara, in the month of April. It bears a strong resemblance to our red-wing in its notes and general appearance, but the bill is more slender, the tail is even, not rounded, and the red on the wing is carmine, edged with white, instead of scarlet, edged with pale yellow, as in the other. They move about in large, whirling flocks, with great noise, feeding principally on the larvæ of blow-flies, which are found in the offal of cattle, killed near the town for the sake of their hides. The yellow-headed troopial (*Icterus xanthocephalus*), which was discovered by the naturalists of Major Long's expedition, is also described. It was found by Mr. Nuttall, around the Kansa (*Texan*) agency, in company with the cow-bird, not knowing, perhaps, that the proverb, *Noscitur ex sociis*, will apply to birds as well as men. It has no note, that can be called a song, but, as it thrusts its bill into the ground, in search of insects, makes a chuckling sound, tapering off into a squeak, inferior in melody even to the cow-bird's. Another troopial, called Bullock's (*Icterus Bullockii*), is found in the same localities with the last. It resembles our beautiful Baltimore in many respects, building its nest in the same manner, but not comparing with it in clearness and power of song. Dr. Townsend found it in the black hills and the forests of Columbia River. Mr. Audubon notices the points of resemblance between some of the grakles and troopials. The crow-blackbirds and red-wings, together with the cow-birds, move about in flocks, where they may have the benefit of man's agricultural labors. All are incessant talkers, with notes more chattering than musical; and, though their bills differ in shape, their food is the same. This running of different kinds into each other shows how necessary, and, at the same time, how difficult it is, to depend on common classification.

The present volume extends our acquaintance among the finches, and one of them, resembling our beautiful fox-colored sparrow, is very properly named *Fringilla Townsendi*, in honor of him to whose enterprise we are indebted for the discovery. He found it numerous in the plains of the Colorado of the West, in the Rocky Mountains. It is a very active and shy

bird, keeping constantly in the low bushes on the ground. Its voice is a sharp, quick chirp, and occasionally a low, weak warble. Dr. Townsend and Mr. Nuttall also discovered *F. bicolor*, a sort of cousin of our bob-o-link, on the plains of the Platte, where it feeds on the ground, in the same manner with our grass-finch, to which it is somewhat allied. While the flocks are feeding, the males are seen to rise suddenly to a great height in the air, and, hovering there with their wings in rapid motion, they sing a number of very sweet and animated notes, after which, they immediately resume their places on the ground. Mr. Nuttall thinks it the sweetest minstrel of the prairie, the whole employment of the tame and unsuspicious parties being to rival each other in song. Dr. Townsend discovered a relation of our common snowbird in the woods of the Columbia; but, unlike ours, always keeping in the depth of the forest, and never coming out in the fields or way-sides. Its song was not heard at that season, nor were the naturalists able to procure its nest, eggs, or young. They gave it the name of *F. Oregona*, from the region where it dwells. They also found a finch, *F. arctica*, resembling our common ground-robin, which was first described by Mr. Swainson, in the "Fauna Boreali-Americana." They found it entirely confined to the western side of the Rocky Mountains. It is more timid than our species, and, instead of the double note *pee-wink*, it mews like the cat-bird. In its partiality for the ground, its nest, and many of its habits, it strongly resembles ours. A single specimen of a green-tailed sparrow, *F. chlorura*, was found by Dr. Townsend; but it was young, and the plumage not fully developed; of its habits, he learned nothing. Beside these new species, much has been added to our acquaintance with the habits of those already known.

In his account of the Louisiana Hawk, *Falco Harrisii*, so called for his friend, Edward Harris, Esquire, Mr. Audubon introduces some curious and valuable remarks upon the flight of birds, which is generally so characteristic, that as far as he can see them, he can distinguish them by their motion. It is generally supposed, that their rapidity is in proportion to the length of their wings; but this, he says, is an error. Their swiftness depends not upon the size or shape of the wings, but on the force and muscular energy with which they move

them. Thus the carrion vulture, though its wings are large, is heavy and ungraceful in its motions. The Golden Eagle, which is always considered powerful in its flight, and sustains itself long on the wing, he says is rather unmanageable and slow, seldom giving chase to its prey, but rather falling upon it, with its wings partially closed, in such a manner as to produce a rushing sound, which alarms and paralyzes its victim. The red-tailed hawk comes under a similar description; so also the black warrior, the broad-winged hawk, the red-shouldered, the common buzzard, and the rough-legged falcon, instead of being the swift destroyers they are commonly imagined, are rather indolent in their habits, and live not by overtaking and running down, but by swooping and pouncing upon, their prey. Another description of the rapacious birds are those, which have wings longer and almost equally powerful, but are aided by long and forked tails, in guiding their flight. Such are the swallow-tailed and the black-shouldered hawks, and the Mississippi kite, whose motion is protracted, strong, and flowing; these have not the power of swooping, but procure their prey by gliding through the air in broad curves, not disdaining to secure such insects as they encounter in their passage through the air. The marsh hawk somewhat resembles the latter class, having large wings and tail, but depends on surprising or steadily watching its prey. The swiftest of the hawks are the goshawk, Cooper's hawk, the pigeon and sharp-shinned, which, with wings short, and somewhat rounded, but long bodies and tails, secure their prey by active pursuit upon the wing, dashing wildly through the air, like arrows, and striking their victim, with sure effect, to the ground. They are probably aided by their feet in directing their motion; but, at any rate, they are the most rapid and ferocious of the race to which they belong.

The peregrine falcon and gyrfalcon, with the sparrow and pigeon hawks, have wings rather broad and pointed, with long, firm, and elastic tails. In flying, they move with strong and quick-succeeding strokes, so that they can overtake most birds in the pursuit, while they have also the power of pouncing, like eagles, on their prey. Their vigor of flight leads them to extensive migrations. Unlike the others, which seldom go far from their birthplace, these pursue their prey over a vast extent of country.

The birds of prey most strikingly distinguished from the rest, are the bird of Washington, the bald eagle, and the fish-hawk. The latter balances itself on its wings over the water, and, when it marks its victim, either glides or plunges upon it, generally, though not always, with success. The bird of Washington glides over its prey and secures it like the gulls. The bald eagle, not confined to fish, like the former, secures it sometimes by robbing the fish-hawk, sometimes by wading, and varies its fare by destroying small quadrupeds and other birds.

From this volume we learn, that our own sweet blue-bird has relatives in those parts of America, which have hitherto been little explored. Its own range is not small; Dr. Townsend found it at the head waters of the Missouri, though it has not yet been seen on the west of the Rocky Mountains. Dr. Richardson traced it as far as the 48th parallel of latitude, where it disappeared, and Mr. Audubon himself found it breeding in Texas, where it abounds. The arctic blue-bird, *Sylvia arctica*, was found by Dr. Richardson in the fur countries, and Mr. Nuttall and Dr. Townsend encountered it on the Platte and Columbia rivers. It resembles the common species in color and note, but is more shy, with a less powerful song. It is distinguished from it by its breast of greenish blue, and its longer and more pointed wings. Another, called the western blue-bird (*Sylvia occidentalis*), was discovered by Dr. Townsend, nearly resembling both the others, except in its having a chestnut band across the back, with the throat blue, but the fore part of the breast red. The song of the latter is more varied, sweet, and expressive than that of ours, but it has the same gentle and affectionate disposition to its own. The nest of the arctic blue-bird was found in a cliff of the Sandy River, a branch of the Colorado of the West. The western builds in the knot-holes of the oaks, in California and other places, where it abounds.

A considerable addition has been made to the number of our warblers, to whose sweet strains we are indebted for so much of the loveliness of spring and summer; but it is a little singular, that, after all Mr. Audubon's researches, some, of which single specimens only were known to Wilson, remain represented by single specimens still. Such are the carbonated and the blue mountain warbler, which last was found

near the range from which its name is derived. Others have grown common in places where they were formerly rare. Swainson's warbler, which was once scarce in South Carolina, where it was discovered by Dr. Bachman, was lately found by Mr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., in the vicinity of Boston. The same is true of other species. For a long time, Mr. Audubon saw only single specimens of Bewick's wren and Stenslow's bunting; but now the former is common on the Virginian mountains, and the latter in New Jersey, as well as more southern States. The Pipirie fly-catcher was not known to exist eastward of the Floridas, till Mr. Audubon had found it there; but now it breeds within the city of Charleston. Traill's fly-catcher, which Mr. Audubon discovered on the Arkansas, is now known to abound near the Columbia River. Dr. Brewer has supplied information concerning various birds, which have lately made their residence in Massachusetts, and which formerly were thought always to keep at a great distance from its bounds.

One of the warblers in question has been named in honor of Mr. Audubon, or, to speak more properly, has been honored with his name. *Sylvia Auduboni* was found by Dr. Townsend near the Columbia River, where it remains from the middle of March to the last of June, and again appears in October. Its note resembles that of our familiar yellow-bird, and breathes life into the dreary wilds of the Oregon, when it comes in the train of spring. In its markings, it is so like the myrtle-bird, that it is difficult to know them apart. Another species, resembling the mourning warbler, bears the name of Macgillivray (*S. Macgillivrayi*). It is common in the woods and plains of the Columbia, where its haunts, like those of the Maryland yellow-throat, are in low and shady bushes. Another of Dr. Townsend's discoveries bears the name of Delafield (*S. Delafieldii*), also resembling the one just mentioned; it was a young yellow-throat of this species, to which Mr. Audubon gave the name of Roscoe. There is yet another, which resembles the black and white warbler in colors, though in other respects it is like the yellow-crowned and Audubon's. To this, the discoverer, Dr. Townsend, has given the name of black-throated grey warbler (*S. nigrescens*); it remains till winter in the forests of the Columbia, where it breeds. Its song is delicate, but monotonous.

The list of our woodpeckers is greatly extended by this volume, and much information supplied concerning those, which were formerly known. All our knowledge of the red-cockaded, *Picus querulus*, was compressed, by Nuttall, in five lines of his work ; of this, Mr. Audubon has given an ample description. He was fortunate enough to secure two males in Louisiana, which resisted his attempts to seize them, and, when they were confined in his hat, hid their heads if he looked at them, as if ashamed of their bondage. One died before he reached the house ; and, as the other could procure no food, he let it go. In its wild state, it fed not only on insects, but on fruits and seeds. In winter, he has seen several of them enter a hole at evening, where they probably spent the night ; in rainy weather, they do the same at various hours of the day. He tells us, that there is a species, which he calls the Canadian (*Picus Canadensis*), confounded with the hairy woodpecker ; the difference never has been suspected, though the new species is considerably larger than the other. He first became aware of the difference in the State of Maine, where it abounded near the woods, roads, and farms, often resorting, like the log-cock, to decaying logs, in search of food. Its motions are heavier than those of *Picus villosus*, and accompanied with a rustling sound of the wings ; its notes are much louder and more shrill ; but the principal difference is in size, the length of this one being an inch and a half, and the extent two inches and a half, greater than those of the other. The pileated woodpecker, which is found in our younger settlements, is ascertained to inhabit the Oregon Territory, Texas, and probably all the region between. At Galveston Island he saw one tapping against the roof of a house, a most unusual familiarity in one of our wildest birds. In winter, he has seen it with its head out of its hole, as if speculating upon the weather, and considering how long the season was likely to last. He tells us, that a nest of one of the golden-winged woodpeckers (*P. auratus*) was taken by Mr. McCulloch, of Nova Scotia, which contained eighteen young birds, beside three eggs, more than three times the number, which they have ever before been known to lay.

Of the newly discovered birds of this species, *Picus Auduboni* is one, so called by Dr. James Trudeau, who first encountered it in a wood, not far from New Orleans. His

attention was struck by an unusual note, and, after some difficulty, he succeeded in getting possession of the bird from which it proceeded. He found it to resemble the hairy and downy woodpeckers, being in size intermediate between the two. Another, nearly resembling the downy woodpecker in form and color, bears the name of *Gairdner's* (*P. Gairdnerii*) ; he does not say by whom it was named, nor where it is found. He has named one, discovered by Dr. Townsend, near Columbia River, after Mr. Harris, to whose friendship he acknowledges himself deeply indebted. A specimen of great beauty, found by Mr. Nuttall, in Massachusetts, bears the name of *P. Phillipsii*, after Benjamin Phillips, Esquire. He has also complimented his friend, Miss Martin, who is often honorably mentioned in his volumes, by calling one, which was found near Toronto, Maria's woodpecker (*P. Mariæ*).

A splendid bird of the West, is called the Imperial (*P. imperialis*) ; it was shot by Dr. Townsend, who succeeded in bringing it to the ground, but was not able to secure it, because pursued by Indians, and left behind by his impatient party ; but it was described by Mr. Gould, who found it in California. It exceeds the ivory-billed in size, and, from his account of it, must be a powerful and noble bird. Near Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, Dr. Townsend observed a woodpecker, which was black, with a large red space between the shoulders. It was flitting about among the pines, very shy, and sending out a guttural sound, which was new to him. After pursuing it a while, he shot it, and it fell apparently dead ; but it came down in tangled bushes, and, while he was gone to the fort for a large knife to clear a way to it, it escaped, and he never saw another. He procured some specimens of the red-breasted (*P. ruber*) of Gmelin, and *flaviventris* of Vicillot, but did not succeed in obtaining much information concerning its habits. The red-shafted (*P. Mexicanus*), first described by Mr. Swainson, was often seen west of the Rocky Mountains ; but it is so similar in habits to our golden-winged, that it hardly needs any description. Mr. Audubon has also given a drawing and description of a three-toed woodpecker (*P. hirsutus*), which resembles the Canadian, and was confounded with *P. tridactylus*, till the difference was pointed out by Mr. Swainson. It is the most common species north of the Great Slave Lake, and is found in

all the spruce-fir forests between Lake Superior and the Arctic Sea.

The new fly-catcher, first described in the "Fauna Boreali-Americana," where it is called *Tyrannula pusilla*, is here called *Muscicapa pusilla*, with information concerning it supplied by the indefatigable Nuttall. Dr. Richardson saw it at Carlton House in May; Mr. Nuttall found it on Wapattoo Island, formed by the junction of the Multnomah with the Columbia River. Mr. Audubon, however, has himself been acquainted with it in Labrador and Newfoundland, where it resorts to the haunts of insects, and, like our fly-catchers, takes its station on a branch, or twig, for the sake of watching their motions. He found a nest between two small twigs of a low bush, containing eggs, that he would have mistaken for those of the redstart, if he had not seen the owner. The Rocky Mountain fly-catcher (*M. nigricans*), described by Mr. Swainson among the birds of Mexico, was also found in California by Mr. Nuttall; but concerning its habits and peculiarities very little was known. On the coast of Labrador, Mr. Audubon found the short-legged pewee (*M. Richardsonii*); it resembles our common pewee so much, that it is not distinguished from it on a careless view. He observed a difference in certain of its habits, but was not struck with it, because the ways of common birds often vary, to suit a change of circumstances and situation; but, on examination, he found, that the nest of this species was always placed on a bush, suspended between the forks of two twigs, and its eggs, instead of being white, were spotted with brown upon a bluish ground.

Some addition has been made to the gloomy family of owls. Mr. Audubon shot one at Green Bay, about the size of the Acadian, but unfortunately lost both the drawing and the description; from its most obvious peculiarity of appearance, he named it the fork-tailed owl (*Strix forficata*). He also furnishes a drawing of the little night-owl (*Strix passerina*) of Gmelin, from a specimen sent to him from Nova Scotia. Dr. Townsend supplied him with another, called the little Columbian (*S. passerinoides*); he had previously seen it in the Edinburgh Museum, to which it was brought from Fort Vancouver.

Mr. Audubon and Dr. Bachman have both seen a hawk, repeatedly, in South Carolina, which they are not able to de-

scribe, because they have not procured a specimen. It is remarkable for the great breadth of its wings. The color is brown, except the tail, which is barred with white. He complains, that the red-tailed hawk is unfortunately named *F. borealis*, since it is rare in northern regions, and quite abundant in the southern ; he probably speaks comparatively, for in Massachusetts it is not uncommon in the depth of our woods. It now appears, that the bird to which he gave the name of little corporal (*Falco temerarius*), is the young of the pigeon-hawk, and was mistaken for a distinct species, on account of the difference of color and the great inferiority of size. The black warrior, which was at first questioned, is now admitted to be a distinct species ; but Stanley's hawk is acknowledged to belong to the same species with that called Cooper's hawk by Bonaparte, who became first acquainted with it from Mr. Audubon's drawing. In his account of the rough-legged falcon, he makes some interesting remarks respecting the migration of birds. He had, like others, observed, that young birds, reared in high latitudes, seemed disposed to go further South than their parents, in order to secure climates suited to their tender age. The old birds of some species, after they have acquired full firmness and strength, never leave the countries in which they have fixed their residence ; the old gyrfalcon seldom goes further South than Labrador, and its young are contented with the genial warmth of the winter of Maine. The old peregrine falcon goes as far South as Carolina, while its more effeminate young spend the winter in South America. He thinks it established, that the young of all those, which, in mature age, breed in the far North, will be found to remain, for the same purpose, at a greater or less distance from their own birth-place, according to their strength and age. Therefore the young of the gyrfalcon will breed in Labrador more than the adult, which is able to go to more northern regions. The same might be expected of the peregrine falcon ; and accordingly, he found the young birds of this species further South than the old ones ; very few of those patriarchs had stopped in Labrador, while it was not unusual to meet with the nests and young of more youthful housekeepers. In France, and the south of England, he has observed, that the nightingales heard in late and cold springs are the best singers, where-

as, in mild seasons, there was a great variety in the richness of their song. It was explained by supposing, that only a few young birds appeared in cold seasons, the greater proportion remaining to breed in warmer countries. Should these remarks prove correct, it will explain why the old rough-legged falcon should never have been found in the south of Europe or America.

Mr. Audubon has also made general observations with respect to the colors of the plumage in birds of different ages, which, if confirmed by observation, may prevent our mistaking the same bird, at different periods of life, for two of distinct species, an error into which ornithologists have often fallen. As to the rough-legged falcon, he says, that the younger birds will be found of lighter tints than the old, and that these tints become, as is always the case, stronger and more decided, as they advance in age. In the hawk family, the younger the bird, the lighter are its markings, and when they either gain or lose bands on the tail, the prevailing color, whether barred or not, becomes firmer and clearer. The colors of an old bird may be either lighter or darker than those of the young, till the young have acquired their full plumage; still the difference spoken of will appear; the young of light-colored birds are generally of a different character, that is, darker, — while, in cases where the adult is dark-colored, the young are more nearly like their seniors. He has observed, that, in birds which are able to reach high latitudes for the purpose of breeding, the coloring is superior to that of others, which could not go so far.

We have here presented to us some new species of tern, one of which, shot by Mr. Audubon, near New Orleans, he has called Havell's (*Sterna Havelli*), in compliment to his engraver, who, he says, deserves it better than many to whom such honors have been paid. Trudeau's tern (*S. Trudeaui*) was procured at Great Egg Harbour, in New Jersey, by the gentleman whose name it bears. Mr. Audubon says, that, having taken several specimens of the marsh tern of America, and compared them with the gull-billed tern of Colonel Montagu's collection in the British Museum, which was procured in the South of England, there was no doubt of the identity of the two. The latter is said to resort, from preference, to lakes, marshes, and rivers; and our tern, as its name denotes,

rejoices in marshes likes those at the mouth of the Mississippi, where it arrives in spring, from Texas, flying over the borders of the sea. Their flight is very graceful ; they swim lightly, but not fast, and, when taken, only attempt to bite the hand without trying to escape by diving. They live wholly on insects, and never on strand birds and their eggs. Sometimes they are beaten and pursued by the king-birds and martins, whose foraging ground they have happened to invade. If the male was killed by the gunner, the female would simply take warning and move out of the reach of shot ; but if the female dropped, the male, more chivalrous, would fly immediately to aid her escape, with so much indifference to his own exposure, that there was no difficulty in bringing him down.

Among the many valuable notices furnished to this work by Dr. Thomas M. Brewer, the suggestion respecting the song-sparrow has peculiar interest, the bird being one of the sweetest heralds of the spring. He is persuaded that two distinct species are confounded under this name, one of which was figured by Wilson, the other and the more common, by Mr. Audubon. The former has its breast spotted, all over, while that of the other is less so, except in the centre, where the spots run together into a star. The former builds in bushes or trees, the other always on the ground ; and, while the one chooses for this purpose orchards or pastures at a distance from habitations, the other comes familiarly into gardens and enclosures, as if to put itself under the protection of man.

Mr. Audubon has thus completed a work, of which the country has reason to be proud ; and the spirit of adventure which he has manifested in undertaking, and the iron perseverance with which he has carried it through, have been rewarded, so far as fame can repay him, with the success which they well deserve. He is of such an age, that we may hope for many advances in his favorite science yet to be made by his energetic and inquiring mind ; meantime he has called forth many others by his spirit and example, who will follow out his researches with that enthusiastic interest which the study is sure to inspire. No one can pay the least attention to it without being led, almost unconsciously, onward ; and, though it is not given to all to be distinguished ornithologists,

they may become lovers of nature, and thus secure to themselves a perpetual source of improvement and delight.

It is understood that Mr. Audubon is now engaged in preparing an edition of his work with illustrations reduced in size, the price being lessened in the same proportion. As taste and wealth are not always united, there are doubtless many who were utterly unable to possess the former magnificent work, but who would go to the full extent of their means for the sake of having a faithful representation of the birds which he has taught them to admire. There is no work of the kind now within their reach. Wilson's reputation will depend, not upon his drawings, but his eloquent descriptions, while his successor manages the pencil and the pen with equal spirit and power. The times, indeed, are not propitious to such enterprises ; but we rejoice to hear, that subscribers are not wanting ; and they need not be assured, that, if they themselves reap no benefit from their investment, their children will learn to observe, to examine, and to love those works of nature, all of which awaken moral and religious feelings ; so that the same process will refine the taste, enlighten the mind, and purify the heart.

ART. V. — *The Works of LORD CHESTERFIELD, including his Letters to his Son, &c. To which is prefixed, an Original* Life of the Author.* First complete* American Edition. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1838. One volume, 8vo. pp. lxxviii and 647.

LORD CHESTERFIELD's name is intimately connected with the subject of private education and the formation of manners ; and in many minds it is identified with hypocrisy, worldliness, and libertinism. These we suppose are his

* The title-page of this work may mislead the reader on two points. First, the Life is not *original*, since it consists mainly of selections in the very words, from Dr. Maty's Life of Chesterfield ; and, secondly, the Edition is not *complete*, as it does not include the Correspondence and Miscellanies, which follow Dr. Maty's Memoir and fill two volumes. Perhaps the word "American" was intended to modify the meaning of the word "complete," so that it might be better adapted to our republications of foreign works.

present distinctions, and the chief points for which he will be remembered. His brilliant accomplishments as a courtier and companion, his skill in diplomacy, his refined eloquence, his liberal views and independent course as a statesman, his popularity as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, have passed from the minds of men. They occupy but a small place in general history, and there was nothing in his character or course of life to give them importance beyond the day, merely on account of himself. As a patron of literary men, which he certainly was, he might have promised himself a distant and honorable fame in the writings of poets and historians, whom he had assisted or courted; and yet his connexion with authors would now be scarcely known, but for Johnson's celebrated letter, resenting the Earl's tardy recommendation of the English Dictionary, and some previous supposed slight of the author's application for his favor. Still further, Chesterfield would be scarcely known now as an author (in the usual sense of the term), had not Johnson, in the same letter, designated two papers in "The World," in which his Lordship recommended the forthcoming Dictionary to the public.

And it must be owned that Chesterfield himself, if we may take his word, made no pretension to a literary name. He writes thus on the subject, to Dr. Madden, in 1748, when he was past fifty and living in retirement, and apparently quite competent to give a fair opinion in his own case.

"The few light, trifling things that I have accidentally scribbled in my youth, in the cheerfulness of company, or sometimes, it may be, inspired by wine, do by no means entitle me to the compliments which you make me as an author; and my own vanity is so far from deceiving me upon that subject, that I repent of what I have shown, and only value myself upon what I have had the prudence to burn."—*Miscellaneous Works*, (Dublin, 1777,) Vol. i. p. 330.

And, again, in his sixtieth year he writes to his friend Dayrolles;

"I will confess to you, that I often scribble. What will finally come of it, I do not know; nothing, I am sure, that shall appear while I am alive, except by chance some short, trifling essays, like the Spectators, upon some new folly or absurdity that may happen to strike me, as I have now and then

helped Mr. Fitz-Adam in his weekly paper called "The World." — *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 257.

He seems at this period to have contemplated writing historical tracts of his own time, but he had little hope that he should accomplish any thing. His health was broken, long before the weight of years alone would account for his withdrawing from public business and remitting his literary projects. And, though he lived to nearly fourscore, yet for the last twenty-five years of his life, the care of his health, and contrivances for resisting the languor and depression of vertigo and deafness, allowed but brief intervals of repose for mental effort, and little of that "flow of active spirits," he says, "which is so necessary to enable one to do any thing well." Accordingly, we do not find that he left any thing at his death for the printer, and he probably had no thought of posthumous renown for any thing he had written.

The Correspondence on which his fame rests, was published by others, as they could collect it, and probably comprises but a small part of his letters. We are not aware, that he left any directions on the subject, or had any hand in making the collection ; and there is good reason to suppose, that he rarely made copies. As he says, that he never rewrote a letter, we presume that we have his most familiar correspondence in the first draught ; and there is no cause to regret this. Probably, in point of literary excellence, it would have been the worse for retouching ; and, in point of trustworthiness, the difference is great, let the writer be ever so honest, between the first unpremeditated expression, and the carefully corrected and guarded copy which is offered to the general reader. Dr. Maty wishes, that the Earl had lived to publish his letters to his son, as he might then have had an opportunity of expunging some obnoxious passages. The Editor, though a lady, felt no scruples on the subject ; and it might have been difficult for any one, not excepting Chesterfield, to heal a general, lurking disease, by removing eruptions. Dr. Maty's apology is worth something, if intended to screen the Earl from the charge of a deliberate purpose to corrupt the whole body of English youth ; but when he calls the obnoxious passages "transient errors, confined to a period of three or four years," the period may seem pretty long to instill poison into a young mind ; and the Earl's character

will gain little by the apology, when it is considered that the vicious passages were addressed to his own child.

The recent publication of Chesterfield's Letters, in this country, has led us to inquire into his history and writings, with more curiosity than we had ever felt on either subject. We had heard of him in our youth as the great master of manners, the lawgiver and authority on all points of exterior propriety. The name alone, when uttered in a tone of warning, conveyed a censure of all rudeness, and hinted every thing that became a well-bred man. We had read in our school-books several of his excellent letters on good behaviour, and in due time we had learned, that he who could condescend to a boy's civilization, was a peer of England, who had declined a pension and dukedom, and a minister of state, who had retired of his own accord. We might have suspected, and with safety, that much of the sententious wisdom which we had listened to from our elders, was a repetition of the practical sayings of one whom we had regarded, with trembling, as our master of ceremonies. The teacher of accomplishments was also a sage. There was an oracle among the Graces. There can be no doubt of his authority with two generations at least, both here and in Europe, whatever it may be now. The character of his influence we will consider hereafter.

We have spoken of him as indebted for his literary name to the accident that a part of his correspondence was preserved. He was by choice, and upon system, a man of business, of pleasure, and of the world. At the age of nineteen, after passing two years at Cambridge, he set out upon his travels, alone. The custom of gross pleasures at the University, he had deemed a proper accomplishment for an English gentleman; and during his first absence from home he seems not to have wholly freed himself from this rude prejudice. It was at a little later period, that he conceived his idea of a perfectly refined man, and learned to despise his coarse, awkward countrymen, of what rank soever, who herded together for company in foreign states, and sought their pleasures, as at home, in the lowest haunts of vice.

Upon the accession of George the First, he went into the House of Commons and made his first speech in support of the new government. He was yet under twenty-one, and it

is said, that, to avoid the penalty of taking a seat in the House before the legal age, he went a second time to Paris. And here begins his noviciate as a man of fashion, or what he would call a pretty gentleman, one of those "pretty fellows," for whom we have devised another name. This training, however, is part of his system for moulding a man of action. He had no idea of becoming a beau or coxcomb for the sake of the accomplishment. His fine gentleman is to be a man of power in the highest callings of active life. When he has acquired all learning, and necessarily a great deal of rust with it, he must mix with those who are experienced in high life, that he may obtain the full use of his possessions. The whole body must be taught to serve the mind, and never be in its way; a noble doctrine, according to the object. He gives his son an account of his embarrassment on first going into company, and the method of relief which a foreign lady adopted for him.

"I remember, that when, with all the awkwardness and rust of Cambridge about me, I was first introduced into good company, I was frightened out of my wits. I was determined to be what I thought civil; I made fine low bows, and placed myself below everybody; but when I was spoken to or attempted to speak myself, *obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit*. If I saw people whisper, I was sure it was at me; and I thought myself the sole object of either the ridicule or the censure of the whole company, who, God knows, did not trouble their heads about me."—"If now and then some charitable people, seeing my embarrassment, and being *désœuvrés* themselves, came and spoke to me, I considered them as angels sent to comfort me, and that gave me a little courage. I got more soon afterwards, and was intrepid enough to go up to a fine woman, and tell her that I thought it a warm day. She answered me very civilly, that she thought so too; upon which the conversation ceased, on my part, for some time, till she, good-naturedly resuming it, spoke to me thus; 'I see your embarrassment, and I am sure that the few words you said to me cost you a great deal; but do not be discouraged for that reason, and avoid good company. We see that you desire to please, and that is the main point; you want only the manner, and you think you want it still more than you do. You must go through your noviciate before you can profess good-breeding; and, if you will be my novice, I will present you to my acquaintance as such.' 'As soon as I had fumbled

out my answer, she called up three or four people to her, and said, 'Do you know that I have undertaken this young man, and he must be encouraged? As for me, I think I have made a conquest of him; for he just now ventured to tell me, although tremblingly, that it is warm. You will assist me in polishing him. He must necessarily have a passion for somebody; if he does not think me worthy of being the object, we will seek out some other. However, my novice, do not disgrace yourself by frequenting opera girls and actresses,' &c. The company laughed at this lecture, and I was stunned with it. I did not know whether she was serious or in jest. By turns, I was pleased, ashamed, encouraged, and dejected. But when I found afterwards, that both she, and those to whom she had presented me, countenanced and protected me in company, I gradually got more assurance, and began not to be ashamed of endeavouring to be civil. I copied the best masters, at first servilely, afterwards more freely, and at last I joined habit and invention." — *Letters to his Son*, Am. Edition, pp. 318, 319.

It might have been expected, that, after acquiring abroad all the defences and facilities which are to be derived from intercourse with the best society, he would be proof against annoyances in any shape, and able to set himself down in any place and with every sort of people, as if it were his home. But Dr. Maty was told, that his Lordship failed of making a figure in the House of Commons, because of the chagrin he suffered from one of the members, who used to make him ridiculous by mimicking his tone and action. "Possibly," adds the Doctor, "this circumstance, had he remained long in the lower House, might have deprived his country of one of its finest orators." This is almost enough to shake one's faith in the universal sufficiency of a thorough French training. But, fortunately for himself and his country, he was, upon the death of his father, removed to the House of Peers, and is now to be considered as in all respects prepared for a brilliant career as a statesman. Though a man of pleasure and fashion, he had been a close observer of the times at home and abroad. He had applied himself to the study of public law, of foreign policy, institutions, and usages, and of British interests. He had lived in the midst of able public men and orators, and no man surpassed him in the power of turning his experience to good account. He started with Whig principles of government and never deserted them;

but, whether from ambition or virtue, he held himself at liberty to be a Whig of his own sort. He resisted Walpole, till he saw the prostration of his long-held power, and was disgusted with Pulteney for wavering at the moment when he stood before the nation, as "the arbiter between the crown and the people." He would not be a slave to party names, nor defer to a great leader merely because of his position.

Chesterfield looked for power to his standing well with the people ; and his expressions of deference to the popular will would do honor to any democratic philanthropist of the present day. He takes office in despite of his sovereign's inclinations, and as if he were doing him a favor, and only glad of power as it may enable him to do more, than he could do out of place, for humanity and peace. Foreigners, whether they meet him as negotiators or companions, are delighted with this rare specimen of urbanity and polish from England. Cheerful, amiable, convivial, a perfect master of himself, his pride held in check by his prudence, his fastidiousness softened by good-nature or cloaked by art, he was accessible to all, and able to impress every sort of men favorably. There was no weakness in his courtesy or conciliation. He was decided and plain-spoken in exacting fidelity from officers in his department, and not less so in appraising his sovereign of what he expected as a condition of his continuing in office. And, last of all, this man of refined pleasure, and literary tastes, and carefully formed by himself to the most perfect observance of artificial manners, is a hard-working man of business. When he was setting out for Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, he chose for the office of principal secretary, one whom he calls a very genteel, pretty young fellow, but not a man of business ; and he told him on his first visit, "Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister." And hence, perhaps, his great popularity and success, in that most difficult government.

Certainly, the view here given of Chesterfield presents no argument against his system of a fine gentleman's education, so far as the faithful discharge of public office, or general fitness for any work of civil life, is concerned. There is not one mark of feebleness, indolence, or self-seeking. He is firm, energetic, honorable, fair-minded, and benevolent. And

it is clear, that every man near him is aware of his presence and his power. No doubt, a great deal is still wanting to make him an object of interest. Even the changing fortunes of a public man lend no charm to his history. A baffled and disgraced statesman, driven into exile or waiting for impeachment, has sometimes obtained a place in our affections, which all the splendor, talent, and enterprise of his administration would never have secured. But Chesterfield received no heavy blow from any of his employers. He was never more active and cheerful than while in the opposition ; and when he resigns the seals and retires for ever, it is to suit himself.

“The audience, which Lord Chesterfield had of his Majesty on resigning the seals, passed in a very different way from that which he had four years before, when he took leave on setting out for his embassy. The King urged him to retain his office, and expressed his satisfaction of the manner in which he had filled it. His Lordship’s answer was, that he found he could be but a useless servant, and that his honor and conscience did not permit him to continue in a post, in which he had not been suffered to do any one service to any one man ; and in which his master himself was not at liberty to distinguish those who had his service most at heart. The monarch was not offended at this freedom. He even offered to give him personal marks of his satisfaction, either by a pension or the title of duke. These offers were declined, and only one of the places at the Board of Admiralty, for his brother John Stanhope, accepted. In return, he begged leave to assure his Majesty, that though he ceased now to be in his immediate service, he would never cease to give him proofs of his respectful attachment, and, reserving to himself the liberty of giving his vote on national points as his reason should direct him, he would keep himself entirely clear of cabals and opposition.”—*Maty’s Life of Chesterfield*, pp. 182, 183.

Writing to Dayrolles, shortly after his resignation, he says,

“I shall now, for the first time in my life, enjoy that philosophical quiet, which, upon my word, I have long wished for. While I was able, that is, while I was young, I lived in a constant dissipation and tumult of pleasures ; the hurry and plague of business, either in or out of court, succeeded, and continued till now. And it is now time to think of the only real comforts in the latter end of life, quiet, liberty, and health. Do not think, by the way, that by quiet and retirement, I mean soli-

tude and misanthropy ; far from it ; my philosophy, as you know, is of a cheerful and social nature. My horse, my books, and my friends will divide my time pretty equally. I shall not keep less company, but only better, for I shall choose it." — *Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. III. pp. 177, 178.

Such language is very common in the mouths of retired statesmen, but probably is not often as sincere as in the present case. So far as we can discern, Chesterfield would not suffer himself any more than another man to deceive him, nor use unmeaning commonplaces, when he was talking to a friend of his own state. Disease followed him to his retirement, and his philosophy was soon to have its trial. And it is now that for the first time we see a shade of tenderness and privacy stealing over his mind. For once, his pursuits seem to be wholly suggested by his condition, and therefore to be natural, or, at least, unforced. He is in his garden, or among his books and his friends, or corresponding with the absent, or occupied with building a house in town and furnishing it to his taste, and collecting pictures and arranging his library ; and in summer he is improving his beloved villa and grounds at Blackheath. For once, he is conversing with people as if they were private men, and had an interest in him and a beauty in themselves, unconnected with the charm of mere manners and the fascination of public office. To say, as many readers probably will do, that he has no depth of feeling, no romance, no poetry, no undefined visions of glory in the improvement of his own soul, is to say what he would have admitted as not entering into his plan or into his nature. He would not have admitted, however, nor would it have been true, that the strictest adherence to his system of manners, or devotion to affairs of state, necessarily brings to an end whatever of imagination and warmth may have belonged to the mind originally. The natural quality is not so easily destroyed, if it ever existed in any considerable strength. But he had little or none of it. He was content to accomplish what he aimed at. The object was not very high ; and he would only have been impeded by affections and desires, which naturally looked another way and far higher.

It was at this period of illness and decay, and of subdued ambition, that Johnson took offence at the Earl's superfluous patronage, and recalled an instance of his real or supposed

neglect in former years, when encouragement was needed. Johnson had a right to his own view of the matter, and Boswell has given it to the public. Chesterfield, it should seem, took no notice of the indignant letter beyond reading it to his visitors, commending the style, extolling the powers of the writer, and pointing out the severest passages; and this liberality and indifference are ascribed to duplicity. He had been a patron of Johnson, and it has been said, that he hoped to secure the dedication by publicly showing an interest in the English Dictionary on the eve of its publication. And as it is assumed, that he must have been mortified by Johnson's disdainful repulse of his commendation, what else could he do but appear magnanimous and unhurt? Certainly, nothing else but to be so. Why should we enter so narrowly into the motives of this old man of the world, who had, for all that appears, done nothing more than a kind and seasonable act for an adventurous author? He did not go out of his way to offer a compliment to Johnson, for he was already a contributor to "The World"; and the style of the two papers referred to is as familiar, and the topics are sometimes as light, as those of his other essays. Probably he was glad to have so good a subject for a new article; and felt much less disquiet about the whole affair than Johnson. He would, we believe, have given Johnson money after the letter, as cheerfully as he had done before; and he would have done it, we believe, after the publication of the Dictionary without a dedication; and this too would have been ascribed to duplicity. We see little, in his history, that shows sensitiveness on the score of vanity, and therefore have little reason to suspect him of practising art to conceal the torture of a wound. He probably received Johnson's taunting letter with more composure than he would have received a visit from him, with the most flattering dedication in his hand. And here, if we are allowed to entertain a not very unreasonable conjecture, we may find one mode of explaining why matters should not stand very propitiously between the parties. What contrast can we imagine more strong than between these two men at any period of their lives? The delicacy of the one might be false, and the ungracefulness of the other was a misfortune for which he was not to blame; but we are speaking of tastes in the choice of our society, a point on which no man should bear dictation.

The Earl would have endured Johnson, if necessary, or else he had gone to the school of manners for nothing ; but he would most probably have held it a better course to avoid him. Such we may suppose to have been the relation between the parties, before Chesterfield had grown old, deaf, infirm, and humbled by slow decay, and had withdrawn to seek, within a limited circle of friends, and in a few unambitious employments, the only relief he expected but death. What must the relation have been afterwards ?

Johnson was more reserved than Chesterfield about the letter, but he seems to have made up for his abstinence by assailing him on other points. He said of the " Letters to his Son," that they " taught the morals of a prostitute and the manners of a dancing master " ; and there is much truth in the denunciation. But when he calls him " a wit among lords," we cannot perceive equal application in the sarcasm, if the term is used in its ordinary modern sense. It cannot be just in its contemptuous bearing upon the English peers ; and, as to Chesterfield's wit, though not of the highest order, it is prompt, flowing, and graceful, and belongs to the matter, and runs in the best English of the age. It is the most natural thing about him. If a lord could relish it, we should think none the worse of him for it. Those who dislike the French, may call it French wit ; those who regard him as a *petit-maitre* in every thing, may call it fashionable wit. These are phrases, and they are meant for something ; but the wit is very agreeable notwithstanding.

It is a practice with some to sneer at the literature of that age for its barrenness, flimsiness, and varnish. It would have been better, if the changes, which are supposed to have put us so far forward, had taught us the first and most natural lesson, which a sense of superiority in any thing should inculcate, — the lesson of humility. No portion of the past is worthless as a study, and none is unconnected with the state of things which follows. When we have passed through a few more changes, we shall begin to feel our literary connexion with the last century to be a privilege, and to inquire how we came to overlook it ; how we could suppose that a modern age, which abounded with great spirits in science, theology, and the questions of political freedom, should have been meagre in elegant and popular literature. We shall begin to

observe with some interest, that a system of taste and of literary propriety, partly scholastic and partly modish, had power enough then to fasten itself upon men of the highest genius, who would have been part of the glory of England in any age, and who were capable, one would think, of effecting a radical change in letters whenever they chose. We shall observe, that it was the trying time for authors, when men in power began to discourse upon settling the language, and particular writers of the day were put forward as authorities. It cannot be above the spirit of any sound philosophy to observe the workings of really powerful minds under restraints and influences like these, and how much they accomplished, and how well our language passed through the inquisition. And quite as important will it be to observe the course of some who broke loose ; for, instead of returning to what is simple and true, as they would have done if instinct had not been harmed, they ran into pedantry, conceit, bombast, or vulgarity, each according to his temper, with the merit, however, that they were original in their errors, and more than atoned for them by their vigor and their example of freedom. Men should never talk contemptuously or lightly of English literature in any part of the eighteenth century.

If we have been drawn from our subject, we return to it to say, that Chesterfield was not one of the sufferers. He was thoroughly a man of the time in literature, and wore his chains like a gentleman. They were an ornament. He could not have spared them. To be clear-headed, and free from all mistakes about himself, with vivacity, shrewdness, and fancy enough for a wit, with the best society at home and abroad at his command, and a good library, — these were qualities and advantages for a man of letters, which he would prize higher than the lawless excursions and original meditations of genius.

A few personal passages from his letters will show the state of his mind in retirement, and his general estimate of himself. The first extract is from a letter to his son, in his sixty-sixth year.

“I have been settled here [Blackheath] near a week ; *c'est ma place*, and I know it, which is not given to everybody. Cut off from social life by my deafness, as well as other physical ills, and being at best but the ghost of my former self, I walk here in silence and solitude as becomes a ghost ; with this only

difference that I walk by day, whereas, you know, to be sure, that other ghosts only appear by night. My health, however, is better than it was last year, thanks to my almost total milk diet. This enables me to vary my solitary amusements, and alternately to scribble as well as read, which I could not do last year. Thus I saunter away the remainder, be it more or less, of an agitated and active life, now reduced (and I am not sure that I am a loser by the change) to so quiet and serene a one, that it may be properly called still life." — *Letters to his Son*, p. 569.

The next year he writes to his friend, the Bishop of Waterford,

"I now read Solomon with a sort of sympathetic feeling. I have been as wicked and as vain, though not so wise as he; but am now at last wise enough to feel and attest the truth of his reflection, that all is vanity and vexation of spirit. This truth is never sufficiently discovered, or felt, by mere speculation; experience in this case is necessary for conviction, though perhaps at the expense of some morality." — *Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. III. p. 361.

If in the flood-time of health and spirits, he had nothing of the moderation and tranquillity of Epicurus, the spirit of his philosophy seems to be gathering over him now.

"All the infirmities of an age, still more advanced than mine, crowd in upon me. I must bear them as well as I can; they are more or less the lot of humanity, and I have no claim to an exclusive privilege against them. In this situation, you will easily suppose that I have no very pleasant hours; but on the other hand, thank God, I have not one melancholy one; and I rather think that my philosophy increases with my infirmities. Pleasures I think of no more; let those run after them that can overtake them, but I will not hobble and halt after them in vain. My comfort and amusements must be internal; and, by good luck, I am not afraid of looking inwards. Some reading, some writing, some trifling in my garden, and some contemplation, concur in making me never less alone than when alone. But this letter runs too much into the moral essay of a *solitaire*." — *To Dayrolles*, *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 266.

The Bishop of Waterford seems to have addressed the Earl on the subject of religion; and, from a few passages in his replies, we may learn, to some extent, how he regarded religion in its relations to himself.

"As to the letter, which you feared might have displeased

me, I protest, my dear Lord, I looked upon it as the tenderest mark of your friendship ; I had given occasion to it, and I expected it both from your affection and your character. Those reflections are never improper, though too often unwelcome, and consequently useless, in youth ; but I am now come to a time of life both to make and receive them with satisfaction, and therefore I hope with utility. One cannot think of one's own existence, without thinking of the eternal Author of it ; and one cannot consider his physical or moral attributes without some fear, though in my mind still more hope. It is true we can have no adequate notions of the attributes of a being so infinitely superior to us ; but, according to the best notions which we are capable of forming of his justice and mercy, the latter, which is the comfortable scale, seems necessarily to preponderate."— *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 339.

"I have within these few months more than once seen death very near, and when one does see it near, let the best or the worst people say what they please, it is a very serious consideration. I thank God, I saw it without very great terrors ; but at the same time the divine attribute of mercy, which gives us comfort, cannot make us forget, nor ought it, his attribute of justice, which must blend some fears with our hopes."— *Ibid.* p. 359.

With this brief notice of Chesterfield, and leaving out of consideration his general abilities, and his opinions on public affairs and many other subjects, we proceed to take some notice of the only work for which he is at all popularly known, the "Letters to his Son" ; and these will be considered chiefly as containing a system of manners. In a letter to his favorite Parisian correspondent, a lady of rank and accomplishments, he gives the following account of the youth, and of his purposes in regard to him.

"I have a boy who is now thirteen. I will freely own to you, that he is not a legitimate child ; but his mother is a gentlewoman, and has shown a partiality for me beyond my deserts. As for the boy, I may be prejudiced in his favor, but I think him amiable. His person is pretty, he is very sprightly, and does not seem to want sense for his age. He speaks French perfectly well, knows a good deal of Latin and Greek, and is thoroughly acquainted with ancient and modern history. He is now at school, where I intend to keep him till May next ; but as, in our schools, and indeed in this country, little care is taken to form the morals and manners of young people, and as

most of them are silly, awkward, and rude ; in short, such as you see them when they come to Paris, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, I will not let my boy stay here long enough to contract those bad habits, which, once taken, are seldom shaken off ; therefore, at fourteen I shall send him to Paris, and put him to board in some substantial family. But, as he will be still very young, and will not have nearly completed his necessary studies, I shall send an Englishman along with him, a man of consummate erudition, who will keep up and improve his Latin and Greek, and teach him logic, rhetoric, and a little philosophy. This learned man will have him entirely under his government at home, and all the morning ; but, as he is not altogether qualified to polish his manners, or, if you will, to give him the *ton* of good company, which, however, is highly necessary, and perhaps as serviceable as all the Greek and Latin of Monsieur Vadius, could not I get at Paris some man, or some Abbé, who (for money which I should gladly give) would undertake the care of the lad from four in the afternoon ; who would carry him to the play, to the opera, and even attend him to your house, if you would give him leave to wait on you ? As I am infinitely fond of this child, and shall take a pride in making something of him, since I believe the materials are good, my notion is to unite in him what I have never yet met with in any one individual ; I mean, what is best in both nations. For this purpose, I intend him his learned Englishman, who is likewise a man of sense, for the solid learning I would have him possessed of, and his French afternoon tutor to give him, with the help of the companies into which he will introduce him, that ease, those manners, those graces, which certainly are nowhere to be found but in France." — "If I may presume to ask it, will you permit him sometimes to be your page in an evening, to give out the cards, to present the coffee, and reach the chairs ? That indeed would be his best school, but I dare not so much as think of it. As the circumstance of his birth might be prejudicial to him in the opinion of some, I think it is best not to divulge it, but to give out he is a nephew of mine, as the cardinals do." — *Ibid.* Vol. II. pp. 340, 342.

To the care of this darling child, he devoted himself with a warmth and anxious oversight, that appear only to be heightened by the circumstance of his birth. No one can doubt that the charge of his education is, of all his enterprises, the nearest his heart, and that he is willing to give his life to it. Nothing displaces it, and every thing and person should seem

to be made in some way connected with it. He began the series of letters of which we are to speak, when the child was but five or six years old, and it terminated only with his son's death. The object of the letters is to furnish a course of education, that shall prepare a man for success in public life ; and the instruction is ever accompanied by motives to obedience, drawn from a respect to his own eminence, and the debt he owes to a fond and ambitious parent. Chesterfield was too wrapped up in his hopes of the youth to weigh the case fairly. He probably thought but little of the slights to which his birth was to subject him, or he might have imagined that they together would be more than a match for the prejudices of such an age. He would not allow himself to see that the capacity he was training, though respectable, was but ordinary ; or that there was any thing ungainly in young Stanhope's appearance or manners, that would not yield to a residence in Paris. In due time, he brought him into Parliament, and his first speech was his last. He failed. His father's long inculcation of the necessity of attaining perfect self-possession, and of preparing himself for the kind of eloquence that would suit the House, together with the warning that he must first make a figure there, if he would make a figure or fortune in his country, — all were baffled. But he is gentle with him, kind, and encouraging. The veteran has sympathy with the infirmity of his novice. There is no misgiving, no offer to settle a competency upon him, that he may retire to an honest obscurity, where the pride of the well-born will not wound him, nor the sense of his incapacity for business be a source of mortification. No ; if he cannot figure in Parliament, he still may be a resident at some court, as was contemplated from the beginning. Situations were obtained for him, and, before reaching the prime of life, he died abroad.

Thus was the seal set upon what seems to have been a signal failure. We do not know whether the system pursued had even been so far successful as to corrupt the young man's heart. Probably he was not the sort of man to be made a complete impersonation of the Earl's great idea of human perfection. But it must be allowed, that paternal assiduity, whether for good or ill, could not be carried further. The youth had been watched and hovered over in his years of separation, with anxiety and hope, in every place and at every

hour. He had been so warned and encouraged, that he could scarcely help feeling either that there was much laid up in him to be developed, or that so much pains must perforce create something uncommon ; and that, in the end, a grand scheme of youthful culture would be exemplified in him. And all had failed, and death had caused but a small part of the failure. Last of all, he had been uniformly treated by his father with a confiding freedom in all matters that he thought would do him any good, and equal confidence in return could not be doubted in any case ; and yet, shortly after his death, the Earl was visited by a lady, with her two children, who came to inform him, that she had been married to Mr. Stanhope for several years. We cannot say whether Chesterfield's conduct, upon receiving this intelligence, proceeded from duplicity, or good-nature, or love that no wrong could slay, or from the reflection that he, who had taught dissimulation, deserved its first fruits ; but certain it is, that he did not suffer resentment of this ungenerous concealment to fall upon the living ; for he took upon himself the care of providing for the children, and some very affectionate letters remain which he addressed to them and their mother. Such was the Earl's paternal affection, and such the ending of his vast preparation and hope.

We come now to his plan of education. The first thing that strikes one is its minuteness, its pertinacious notice and reiteration of the smallest things which enter into his notion of a complete man. He evidently puts out of consideration the work which every boy should be left to do for himself ; and would scorn the theory, that no teaching whatever should aim at any thing beyond giving to the mind a safe action. The whole application of a good lesson, and the whole result, he would leave with the master. The pupil is in every thing to be another man's workmanship. If the artist is satisfied, there is no more to be desired. This we gather from the general spirit and manner of the instruction, and should not be induced to think differently by occasional hints, that are more liberal and just. The question is not, whether a comprehensive plan of education in general is hurtful ; whether certain principles and methods are not to be recognised as essential, and distinct objects to be proposed. But is a constant oversight for the purpose of making the system work

according to our notion in every thing, a perpetual warning that an omission, deviation, or addition is necessarily a fault, — is this course favorable to vigor, courage, independence, originality, and deep moral impulses? Again, the objection here, though in some respects a very important one, is not to unity in our object, and keeping one great aim for ever in the pupil's sight. Singleness of purpose often creates power, by holding a man strictly to one, simple, sharply-defined course. Hannibal took his oath of eternal hostility when a boy, and we know what came of his nourishing this one passion through life. But an objection does lie against a teasing, petty, foreign interference with every act, scheme, pleasure, and acquisition of a young mind, with a view of achieving our own object. It would be dangerous, even if it were studiously adapted to the boy's natural bent.

Chesterfield, it must be acknowledged, had but one object in view in educating his son, and that was to make him a statesman; and he cared not what he risked by holding up public life and all its appurtenances for ever before his pupil. It would not be easy to say what special teaching is needed for a politician; but the views of the present teacher are plain enough. A character formed under domestic influences, had such a thing been practicable in young Stanhope's case, was not desired. An English home, English playmates, English manners, would make him nothing better than a patriotic boor. He must live out of England to be fit to live in it. If he could have obtained fortune and distinction equally well as an adopted Frenchman, the Earl, with all his Whiggism, would probably have consented to the expatriation. But it would certainly be a greater triumph still, to come home an accomplished man of no country, flexible and prepared for people of every clime, station, and taste, — a universal stranger, a non-resident with a home everywhere, who was provided with a code of observances, a rule of practice, which saved all study and feeling, and suited everybody, and served all the purposes of natural sagacity and a profound knowledge of man. A law of amenity, condescension, and seeming self-forgetfulness, founded upon full faith in the weakness and self-love of every human being, was better than the instinctive impulses of benevolence, which are more likely to gush out in exaggerated acts of kindness, than to breathe that subdued sympathy

thy which owes every thing to manner. The system, in short, was a partial one, and meant to be partial ; and, whether good or bad, it was not at all impracticable in itself. And those who take it up as of general application, and designed to form the habits and direct the pursuits of the mass, would, after so fair notice is given in every page, have themselves alone to blame, were not the system so built upon human frailties in every condition of life, and so seductive in its substitution of appearances for inherent qualities, that many simple-minded people might be tempted to adopt its superficiality, and make themselves fools and rakes instead of accomplished public characters.

But we must consider more particularly Chesterfield's estimate of manners, and the discipline he enjoined for forming them. His view of the whole subject may be superficial and false, and unquestionably his aim is often low and vicious ; but he certainly has drawn attention to the subject ; and the importance of good-breeding is not easily overrated, in whatever light we regard it. Addison calls it "a kind of artificial humanity." It begins in natural feeling, and supplies a natural want, — *Ubi homines sunt, modi sunt* ; but our way of living together, the terms on which we shall exercise our natural liberty in social life, are conventional or customary, and so far artificial. Manners, it is true, sometimes lose much of their original significance, and become little more than form. At the highest pitch of refinement, they are often rendered ludicrous by the anxious observance of punctilio, and the airs and grimace of coxcombs. And at any time they may be made the instruments of hypocrisy. They are not unchangeable, like the instinctive courtesies of inferior animals, nor, like them, incapable of being perverted. And well-bred men of the same community may, from some diversity in their temper or associations, differ in the degree, and somewhat in the form, of their courtesy and deference. But, whatever may be the *mode*, manners themselves, in their origin and purpose, are moral expressions. They do not exist because we choose to have them, but because we choose to live together ; nor is it in our power to put them aside and do without them. And he who will not conform to the usages of the class he moves in, is justly considered as neglecting some duty, and infringing some right. As expressions of respect

and good-feeling, then, the observance of manners cannot necessarily or naturally lead to insincerity or folly ; and he who has brought them to the utmost perfection in himself incurs no peril on that account, unless we consider every thing unsafe in a moral view, the moment it becomes a habit.

But they are more than proofs or signs of benevolence and respect. It is well remarked by Scott, "that some forms and restraints are to be observed, less in respect to others than to ourselves." He who religiously bridles the tongue is unconsciously keeping the heart. A man may abstain from loud laughter, not merely because some think it rude, but also because he feels that it encourages frivolity and endangers seriousness of character. And further, the least wilful indifference to the feelings of another, be it upon his weak point or not, may be, and often is, the beginning of hard-heartedness, and some portion of our delicacy is about to be sacrificed. A system of manners, then, perfectly acquired, is a perpetual hint to watchfulness over ourselves ; it is a guardian of our self-respect and of our benevolence.

Now suppose a man to adopt this system, and carry it to perfection for the purpose of substituting it in the place of feeling ; and he at once gives up the whole ground and reason of manners. He does more than practise forms unmeaningly from habit, in which case he is rarely misunderstood ; he deliberately and purposely makes the form supreme, and gives it an exaggerated significance. Whatever his intentions may be, he has exposed himself to the corrupting power of falsehood, in one of its most treacherous shapes. If religion elevates sculpture and painting, it is itself debased when the image is worshipped. And so it is with benevolence and manners ; if the sign becomes the idol, the original sentiment is abused and degraded. And it is, in part, for this substitution, that Chesterfield has been condemned. To take him on the most favorable side ; — he abhorred every practice and appearance which unfitted men for agreeable intercourse, which broke the level and smoothness of elegant life, and reminded people unpleasantly of individual peculiarities. Gentlemen should meet on, at least, as comfortable an equality as boors. This is well enough. But boors are at least sincere. Will it do for gentlemen to be sincere ? He evidently thought not. He had no faith in training a good feeling to observances, and

put it aside as merely useful in suggesting convenient signs. He probably never asked himself how much inward disease he might cause, or exasperate, by his attempt to improve the complexion with lotions. He admired the benevolent air of society which gave the French their charm, and thought the only way to make an Englishman tolerable was to apply the foreign varnish ; when probably the only thing wanted was a home-born politeness, that would suit the English character, and that true ease of conversation which shows that, by conquering embarrassment, we have become more truly ourselves. His remedy for the false shame of his countrymen was to send them out into the world to get an armour of usages for security ; the defences and resources that might have been found in good principles and dispositions were overlooked. In general, he would rather make a false man to his taste, than honestly educate a savage according to his nature.

And yet we can hardly say, that we have felt a proper indignation at reading letter after letter, addressed to a mere lad, and a beloved child, inculcating a systematized lie as his true preparation for meeting the world. This instruction is all so blended with parental solicitude, so mixed up with other things, and relieved by wise observations on human life and excellent rules of conduct for anybody ; there is such avowed abhorrence of every thing mean and low in our vices, such careful distinction between deceptive reserve and a spoken lie ; the directions are given so naturally, as if the boy must at once perceive that things are just so and must be so, however it may be disguised by prudes and priests ; the manner, moreover, is so frank, unpretending, and business-like, and allowances are so charitably made for every thing but standing ill with others for what cause soever ; that one reads on with more patience than he may afterwards be disposed to justify. And, if the worst should happen, if the enchanter should quite overcome him, is it no alleviation that, whatever his change may be, he will not be transformed into a swine ?

It is not common to call such a man as Chesterfield a fanatic ; but he must have been one, in no ordinary degree. To take a single instance, what religionist was ever more scrupulous in attention to externals ? What care, what torture, to train the person. What a battle with self for appearance only. A fiercer struggle would not be required to make us spiritual,

The importance of a good demeanor and address is not to be disputed ; but one is surprised at the prominence that is given to them, the ceaseless warnings that are uttered, and the variety of methods suggested. He forgets, that, with Chesterfield, they are of infinite value in themselves ; that they must be made a part of the man, and be cultivated as some would cultivate the affections. We can recall but one other authentic case in which this part of the system has been put in full practice ; and, as it will serve better than a caricature, we will venture to state the process. We refer to the case of Mr. Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*, and a fanatic of another sort, as he detested fashion, dancing, dress, and all other frivolities of the kind. We borrow the particulars from Mr. Edgeworth's autobiography. It seems, that Mr. Day had become attached to a lady of the family, so distinguished in the history of Mr. Edgeworth's marriages ; and, though "his person was neither formed by nature, nor cultivated by art, to please," the lady appears to have been sufficiently interested to put him upon his probation ; and, on Chesterfield's plan, she sent him to the great foreign school of accomplishments. Mr. Edgeworth, who accompanied him, says,

"We determined to pass the winter at Lyons, as it was a place where excellent masters, of all sorts, were to be found ; and here Mr. Day put himself to every species of torture to compel his anti-gallican limbs, in spite of their natural rigidity, to dance and fence, and manage the great horse. To perform his promise to Miss E. Sneyd honorably, he gave up seven or eight hours of the day to these exercises, for which he had not the slightest taste, and for which, except horsemanship, he manifested the most sovereign contempt. It was astonishing to behold the energy with which he persevered in these pursuits. I have seen him stand between two boards which reached from the ground higher than his knees ; these boards were adjusted with screws, so as barely to permit him to bend his knees, and to rise up and sink down. By these means, M. Huise proposed to force Mr. Day's knees outward ; but his screwing was in vain. I could not help pitying my philosophic friend, with his feet in the stocks, a book in his hand, and contempt in his heart." — *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, Vol. 1. pp. 260, 261.

Some time afterwards Mr. Edgeworth states the result.

"Upon Mr. Day's return from France, Miss Elizabeth

Sneyd found, that, notwithstanding all the exertions he had made, and the pains he had taken to improve his manners and person, she could not feel for him the sort of attachment which was necessary for her happiness and for his in marriage." — pp. 335, 336.

Chesterfield's theory of manners, then, is deliberately formed and carried out upon the idea, that appearance (including not only the person but our whole demeanor towards others) is all-sufficient and alone effectual. And, according to the same theory, this appearance can only be secured by observation of life and constant practice. Spontaneous feelings could be of no use to a pantomime; they would only embarrass the process of artificial movements, as the fairest wind is said to disturb the action of the apparatus of a steam-vessel. And now we are brought to the motive for urging this exaggerated regard for externals. The result, indeed, would ordinarily be the same, whatever the intention; but the intention is clear. Man is held up as an object of distrust and contempt. He is cunning, but weak, and to be approached on the side of his weaknesses. You are not to reform him, or inquire whether your artifices will not help to perpetuate the evil; but, taking him as he is, you are to circumvent him and use him for your purposes; and this you can best accomplish by appearances and the hypocrisy of benevolence.

"The more you know men, the less you will trust them. The same arts and tricks, that boys will now try upon you for balls, bats, and halfpence, men will make use of with you, when you are a man, for other purposes." — *Letters to his Son*, p. 136.

"If you would particularly gain the affection and friendship of particular people, whether men or women, endeavour to find out their predominant excellency, if they have one, and their prevailing weakness, which everybody has; and do justice to the one, and something more than justice to the other."

"You will easily discover every man's prevailing vanity, by observing his favorite topic of conversation; for every man talks most of what he has most a mind to be thought to excel in. Touch him but there, and you touch him to the quick."

"Women have, in general, but one object, which is their beauty; upon which scarce any flattery is too gross for them

to swallow. Nature has hardly formed a woman ugly enough to be insensible to flattery upon her person. An undoubted, uncontested, conscious beauty is, of all women, the least sensible of flattery upon that head ; she knows it is her due, and is therefore obliged to nobody for giving it her. She must be flattered upon her understanding ; which, though she may possibly not doubt of herself, yet she suspects that men may distrust." — pp. 161, 162.

" Seek for men's particular merit, their predominant passion, or their prevailing weakness ; and you will then know what to bait your hook with to catch them." — p. 210.

" Please the eyes and the ears ; they will introduce you to the heart ; and nine times in ten the heart governs the understanding."

" Speak advantageously of people behind their backs, in companies who, you have reason to believe, will tell them again." — p. 255.

" Showish and shining people always get the better of all others, though ever so solid." — p. 408.*

Of course, we shall not quote passages, in which he recommends refined debauchery under the name of gallantry, and confidentially presents his own example ; or those, in which he describes the arts by which a married woman is to be corrupted, and which the editor, Mrs. Stanhope, has done what she could to vindicate. In fact, these passages give us no more unfavorable opinion of the writer and his system, than those we have already copied ; and we cannot but regard the suggestions as entering naturally into the general culture of his "unseasoned courtier."

It is probable, that Chesterfield has been judged by the world, on all points, by the moral unsoundness exhibited in

* When we think over the long and laborious process of deception which Chesterfield prescribed, to equip his son for dealing with men, we are agreeably reminded of a more easy and succinct method, which was adopted by his kinsman and contemporary, Earl Stanhope, while Secretary of State. We do not know, whether the whole race had a turn for artifice ; but, if there must be false dealing, we prefer that which has some humor in it. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in a letter to her daughter, the Countess of Bute, says, "I can truly affirm, that I never deceived anybody in my life, excepting (which has often, I confess, happened undesigned) by speaking plainly ; as Earl Stanhope used to say, during his ministry, he always imposed on the foreign ministers by telling them the naked truth, which, as they thought impossible to come from the mouth of a statesman, they never failed to write information to their respective courts directly contrary to the assurance he gave them."

the "Letters to his Son." He has been held as responsible for the work as if he had published it. He came into our houses with his system, and sought the confidence of our boys and young men, and gave a pungency and authority to his instructions by offering them as the real communications of a parent to a cherished son. A vicious romance, or unsound theories and speculations upon life and character, conveyed in a didactic treatise, might not have so armed the world against him. We have here one of the cases, in which an able man excites more alarm, and does more mischief, by direct appeals to consciousness and experience, than by presenting glowing pictures to the imagination. It is not surprising, then, that he has been condemned in the mass. But the reader, who has forbearance enough to discriminate, will not deny, that these "Letters" contain a great amount of practical good sense; that the sketches of character and defects are in the first style of diverting and instructive satire; and that the composition has the animation and grace which we should expect from a highly cultivated mind, occupied with delightful visions of a young man rising into brilliant fame under its guidance. And the reader, who can be satisfied with skilful and perfectly intelligible accounts of man as he is, — the superficial man of daily life, — and who can believe, that principles, drawn from observation of men under such an aspect merely, or even warranted by his sense of the tendencies which his connexion with the world has given to himself, — involve the whole of human nature; will discover, in these "Letters," as good a summary of wisdom as he ever found in a collection of French, or, perhaps, Roman sentences.

Johnson's short-hand condemnation of Chesterfield has already been cited; and it is faulty in nothing, but that it appears to include all that can be said of him. Such is the sophistry of many a brilliant antithesis. Cowper's amplified execration is scarcely less spirited, and it has the same defect.

"Thou polished and high-finished foe to truth,
Gray-beard corrupter of our listening youth;
To purge and skim away the filth of vice,
That so refined it might the more entice,
Then pour it on the morals of thy son;
To taint *his* heart was worthy of *thine own* !

Now, while the poison all high life pervades,
Write, if thou canst, one letter from the shades;
One, and one only, charged with deep regret,
That thy worst part, thy principles, live yet;
One sad epistle thence may cure mankind
Of the plague spread by bundles left behind."

— *The Progress of Error.*

Mr. Bulwer, who, by his abhorrence of cant and usage, is made fond of paradoxical interpretations and defences, has come out earnestly on the side of Chesterfield. In his "Disowned," he makes Mr. Talbot say,

"It seems strange enough, that a free country, like ours, where it is important to please every class, should, of all modern nations, appear the most zealously to condemn, rather than merely to neglect, manners and address."

Mr. Talbot considers the sea of manners as unexplored, or that Chesterfield is almost the only Englishman who has attempted a chart of the unknown deep. And Mr. Bulwer, speaking in his own person, is of opinion, that Chesterfield has been misunderstood, as to his "Letters" especially, and says, he intends to take an early opportunity "to do justice to a great man." He asks why Chesterfield should not be venerated as "the philosopher of benevolence, and the expounder of its more subtle, yet more customary laws." We know not, whether Mr. Bulwer has ever followed out his purpose; but we have no doubt, that the vindication would be ingenious and eloquent, and that he would make Chesterfield an object of admiration and gratitude. He would, we think, select the two following passages as examples of the benevolent spirit, and we can easily imagine his method of analyzing and applying them in support of the benevolent theory.

"With a passionate desire of pleasing everybody, I came, by degrees, to please some; and, I can assure you, that what little figure I have made in the world, has been much more owing to that passionate desire I had of pleasing universally, than to any intrinsic merit or sound knowledge I might ever have been master of. My passion for pleasing was so strong (and I am very glad it was so), that I own to you fairly, I wished to make every woman I saw in love with me, and every man I met with admire me. Without this passion for the object, I should never have been so attentive to the means; and I own, I cannot conceive how it is possible for any man of

good nature and good sense to be without this passion. Does not good nature incline us to please all those we converse with, of whatever rank or station they may be? And does not good sense and common observation show, of what infinite use it is to please? Oh! but one may please by the good qualities of the heart, and the knowledge of the head, without that fashionable air, address, and manner, which is mere tinsel. I deny it. A man may be esteemed and respected, but I defy him to please without them. Moreover, at your age, I would not have contented myself with barely pleasing. I wanted to shine, and to distinguish myself in the world as a man of fashion and gallantry, as well as business. And that ambition or vanity, call it what you please, was a right one; it hurt nobody, and made me exert whatever talents I had. It is the spring of a thousand right and good things."—*Letters to his Son*, p. 423.

"There is, in all good company, a fashionable air, countenance, manner, and phraseology, which can only be acquired by being in good company, and very attentive to all that passes there. When you dine or sup at any well-bred man's house, observe carefully how he does the honors of his table to the different guests. Attend to the compliments of congratulation or condolence that you hear a well-bred man make to his superiors, to his equals, and to his inferiors; watch even his countenance and his tone of voice, for they all conspire in the main point of pleasing. There is a certain distinguishing diction of a man of fashion. He will not content himself with saying, like John Trott, to a new-married man, 'Sir, I wish you much joy'; or to a man who has lost his son, 'Sir, I am sorry for your loss'; and both with a countenance equally unmoved. But he will say, in effect, the same thing, in a more elegant and less trivial manner, and with a countenance adapted to the occasion. He will advance with warmth, vivacity, and a cheerful countenance to the new-married man, and, embracing him, perhaps say to him, 'If you do justice to my attachment to you, you will judge of the joy that I feel upon this occasion, better than I can express it.' To the other, in affliction, he will advance slowly, with a grave composure of countenance, in a more deliberate manner, and, with a lower voice, perhaps say, 'I hope you do me the justice to be convinced, that I feel whatever you feel, and shall ever be affected where you are concerned.'"—*Ibid.*, p. 430.

We have less patience with a theory of Chesterfield's benevolence, because it appears to us to be a part, and in fur-

therance, of his own habit of confounding things. We have regarded his system of exterior kindness as superficial and selfish. If it be in reality a benevolent one, it is so no further than as it pampers the sensitiveness and weakness of men, and their morbid craving for the signs of sympathy and honor ; — no further, than as it attempts to systematize whatever practices have been found to be generally agreeable among men and flattering to their infirmities, and then recommends these to all as the only practicable method of keeping up such a demonstration of good-will, as all can appreciate and make.

We know, that it is difficult to draw the line between good social dispositions and actions generally, and a sickly regard to false exactions ; and, to avoid useless discriminations, we shall venture to say, that we dislike much of the current language on the subject of pleasing. We dislike the phrase, “trying to please.” It is deceptive, and the practice itself leads to effeminacy or fraud. It puts men in wrong positions towards each other. To shun giving needless offence is one thing, and most important. This passive good-will or negative benevolence is not sustained without effort ; and, as it is little noticed by those whom it spares, it is likely to be disinterested, and can scarcely do harm to either party. Then, again, to give innocent pleasure to others by active efforts and personal sacrifices in their behalf, is safe for all concerned. And to gratify our friends by our moral excellence and high reputation is a natural reward, though we should not propose it as the object, of virtuous action. And undoubtedly our customary civilities and attentions are in part designed to give pleasure. But Chesterfield’s “passionate desire of pleasing everybody,” this endeavouring so to adapt ourselves to the dispositions of others, that admiration and gratitude shall beam upon us whenever we appear, and our very persons become idols, is not the prompting or expression of benevolence, and it is foreign to the true spirit and purpose of civility. There is selfishness on both sides, and mutual mischief. Men have no right to such a show of devotion, and we have no right to offer it. We are not placed here solely or chiefly to please or be pleased, even in the best sense that we can give to these terms ; but to be good and to do good. And, so far as manners promote

these objects (and we believe that they enter closely into the great work), let them be cultivated with enthusiasm, as virtues ; and, so far as they *then* give pleasure, they yield a natural fruit.

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- ART. VI. — 1. *The Planter's Plea ; or, the Grounds of Plantations examined, and Usual Objections answered. Together with a Manifestation of the Causes moving such as have lately undertaken a Plantation in New England ; for the Satisfaction of those that question the Lawfulness of the Action.* 2 Thess. v. 21. "Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." London : 1630. 4to. pp. 84.
2. *An Historical Discourse, delivered by Request before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25, 1838, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Settlement of the Colony ;* by JAMES L. KINGSLEY. New Haven : 1838. 8vo. pp. 115.
3. *Thirteen Historical Discourses, on the Completion of Two Hundred Years from the Beginning of the First Church in New Haven, with an Appendix.* By LEONARD BACON, Pastor of the First Church in New Haven. New Haven : 1839. 8vo. pp. 400.
4. *The New York Review.* Number XI., for January, 1840. [Article 2. *Politics of the Puritans.*]

WE cannot pretend to say much for the first of the above works, on the score of novelty. In a very early stage of our labors, when noticing various tracts which relate to the primitive times of this country, we gave to it such a share of our attention as we supposed it to deserve.* And within a very short time we have done our best to recommend to the public the Discourses by Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon, the titles of which follow in our list.† Having thus performed our duty, we should not probably have been tempted again to bring them up, had they not been made the groundwork and justification for an extraordinary commentary in the pages of the

* *North American Review*, Vol. II. pp. 145 *et seq.*

† *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVII. pp. 480 *et seq.*, and pp. 161 – 173 of the present volume.

“New York Review,” the heading of which is also given above. It is to this commentary that we now propose to direct our particular attention, and we join the other works only because they are incidentally necessary to our purpose and cannot be separated from it. They have furnished the opportunity, which, it seems, has been watched for, of making a general attack upon the whole edifice of New England History ; an attack which we regret on many accounts, but more particularly on two. The first, that it should have originated in so respectable a quarter ; and the second, that it compels us to assume an attitude of controversy in our defence, which it is as little agreeable to our taste to seek, as, when unavoidable, it is in our disposition to fear.

The process by which truth is established in this world is for the most part a slow and painful one. A mere accident will often appear to strike it into the mind of a single man, from whom it will pass to his neighbours, until it gradually attains to that degree of universal consent and acknowledgment, which will justify the claim for the human race, that it has made another step in its advancing progress. The fall of an apple to the ground was to the mental faculties of Newton as flint to the steel, and produced a permanent light, ever after to illumine the world. So the hesitating dislike of the monk Tetzels formed the stimulus to those vehement energies in Luther, which worked out in their career an entire revolution in the moral and political doctrines of civilization. Yet, though the results thus reached must be admitted to have sprung from such very small beginnings, there is no person at this day likely to undervalue them on that account alone, or to take away from the individuals who originated them the degree of credit for their agency which they most richly deserve. Through them the intellect of mankind may be said to have bridged a chasm, and the genius and learning of future ages might, with perfect safety, be let out to roam after more remote and yet undiscovered truth, without being exposed to the risk of having the earth open beneath their feet, or of being called back from less investigated paths to the duty of resetting landmarks in those already passed.

Among the truths, which may be regarded as thus firmly established, are the principles at the root of the civil and religious rights which every citizen of New England now enjoys.

And in looking after the origin of their establishment, we did not suppose that there could be any more hesitation in ascribing it to the agency of the Puritans, than in ascribing the doctrine of gravitation to Newton, or the overthrow of the infallibility of Rome to Luther. When the scorner and the skeptic had bowed to the majesty of truth in the persons the most abhorrent to his nature, when authors of all shades and degrees of religious, moral, or political opinion had united in conceding this as certain, we could hardly have expected, at this late day, and least of all in these United States, a revocation of it into doubt. Yet the fact is even so. We are called upon to do no less than to reform all our existing notions ; to go back to a new political primer ; to remodel written history and documents ; to bow to new authorities. We must hereafter eschew all respect for the Puritans as champions of our liberty, and transfer it to the Stuart monarchs on the throne of England. We must "look down" upon our ancestors as the opponents of the privileges we enjoy, and "look up" to the common law of the mother country as the source from which we gained them, in spite of their efforts to cut it off. Such are the new lessons in history which our worthy contemporary in New York is reading to the growing community of these States ; and, if they are true, great indeed must be the change of opinion which they will occasion. Our schools, our colleges, our public men, and the distinguished writers of this and other countries, are all infected with the most pestilent error. And the hallucination, which this "historico-optical illusion," to use the term of our brother reviewers, has occasioned, has reached to such a height, that we nearly despair of seeing any effort of theirs at all equal to successful remedy or counteraction.

But, before we proceed any further, let it be clearly understood, that, in what we are about to say to the Reviewers, we seek for no causes of offence to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as established in America. Neither do we perceive the least necessity for introducing sectarian feelings of any kind into the discussion. We have no reason for supposing that Episcopalians in the United States, merely because they are such, have any disposition at this time of day to make battle for all of the same persuasion, who have happened to live in past time on the other side of the water.

We hardly imagine they will exalt the memory of Henry the Eighth, merely because he founded the Church, or that they will overlook the violence of Laud, and the bigotry of his master, simply because they rank high in the list of martyrs in her cause. Seeing that these points are generally conceded in England itself, and that the Church did at last contribute to the final overthrow of the Stuart dynasty, we do not perceive any necessity for maintaining here the political doctrines which made them odious, even there. That such necessity should have been supposed to devolve upon the "New York Review," even by reason of any cause of offence believed to have been given by Messrs. Kingsley and Bacon in their remarks, is to us surprising. We cannot credit, that either of those gentlemen had the remotest idea of advancing "personal, political, or sectarian interests," by their productions. Nor yet could they have wished "to exalt the Puritan fathers of New England with a view of giving a *hostile* bearing, more or less directly, upon those who have not seen good to take them as authority in matters of religious faith and discipline." The insinuation and the suspicion are worthy of each other; particularly as they stand in the face of earnest and express disclaimers on the part of both those gentlemen, and of a paragraph of Mr. Kingsley which is so strikingly just, that we cannot do better than to close with it this part of what we have to say. "It is an obvious remark," he says, "that many of the relations of different sects to each other in former times, have ceased to exist; and *that the faults of none originating in causes, which no longer operate, should be considered the inheritance of the present generation.* All have now full opportunity to show the excellences of their respective systems, unincumbered with the past." This is good advice, particularly when coming from one who frankly admits that all have something to regret, and we are only sorry that it does not appear to have been taken in the spirit in which it was meant.

There is, however, one great difficulty in the treatment of this matter, which we scarcely know how to avoid. We mean the temptation it holds forth to go over what has already been discussed to satiety. It is as little consistent with our design to open with commonplace panegyric of the Puritans, as it is to join in with their revilers. The main points on each side

of the controversy they have occasioned are so hackneyed by this time, that we are sure our readers will excuse our disinclination even to approach them. Yet it is hardly possible to follow the precise line of truth, without danger of being drawn into the abyss. And when once involved, it is still less so, to adhere to that calmness of judgment without which there is no hope of extrication. Luckily for us, in this dilemma, we are likely to be helped out by the somewhat original mode of thinking which our contemporary has adopted, and by the duty we are under rather to follow the path marked out for us than to open any of our own. And this we hope to do as closely as it is possible.

The first proposition which the Reviewers advance, is, that "the nature of the contest in England between Churchmen and Puritans was merely a political one, and *not*, as is usually represented, a religious one." And this they support by the argument we now subjoin.

"This may fairly be inferred, from what is said by both of our authors. Professor Kingsley tells us, (Disc. p. 55,) 'their (the Puritans') opposition to the Church of England was mainly political, and limited in a great measure to discipline.' And Mr. Bacon tells us, (Disc. p. 14,) that, 'of the many Puritans who came to New England at its first planting, none, save the pilgrims of Plymouth, had denounced the Church of England, or had separated themselves from its communion.' And in another place he asks, 'What were the Puritans? Let sober history answer. They were a great religious and political party, in a country and in an age in which every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. They were, in their day, the reforming party in the Church and state of England.' (p. 34.) But when we say it was a political controversy, we do not mean that nothing was said concerning religion, nor even that the Puritans did not profess to be seeking its promotion; but we intend to assert the plain and simple proposition, that the *REAL* contest between Churchmen and Puritans was FOR THE POLITICAL ASCENDENCY; Churchmen desiring to continue prelacy as the religion of state, while the Puritans were striving to elevate Presbyterianism to the same post; both parties, the meanwhile, professing to be influenced *solely* by a regard for religion, and having its best interests deeply at heart. If, therefore, the *professions* of these partisans are to be taken as evidence of the nature of the controversy, it was purely a religious one; but, if we judge of the

nature of that controversy as we do of those of later days, *by the end* [sought, we cannot hesitate to conclude that it was *political*. So long, then, as the ulterior object of any party is to gain the political supremacy, no matter what their pretensions may be, whether to purify the church, to establish a new religion or a new form of discipline, to introduce better laws or wiser rulers, — still, the end being political, the contest is political.” — p. 53.

We have extracted the whole of this passage, with its emphatic words and small capitals, because it appears to us to be the basis of whatever of argument can be found in the remainder of the article. We have no hesitation in at once declaring, that it fails to support the proposition advanced upon it. There is a change of language in it, which may deceive the unwary, but which cannot stand the test of a moment's scrutiny. Neither Mr. Bacon nor Professor Kingsley admits, that the contest between Churchmen and Puritans was *merely* a political one, — nor would it have been true, if they had done so. The latter gentleman, in our opinion, goes too far when he says, it was “*mainly* political”; the former states the case right when he describes it as “a religious, *and* a political contest, when religion was a matter of political regulation.” Hence the political struggle on the part of the least powerful party in religion, was one not of their seeking. The religious scruple became a political question, only because the King and the Church insisted upon shutting up every other avenue to its indulgence. To show this clearly, it is only necessary to look back to the origin of the Reformation in England. When Henry the Eighth quarrelled with the Pope, he lifted the great barrier to the progress of the new opinions. This was very unintentionally done on his part, it is true; but still, once done, the deed could not be undone. And, having been done, it was not possible that the privilege of thought and reasoning upon religious subjects, thus newly obtained by the people, would not lead to great diversities of sentiment. The triumph of the Reformation was secured; but it was not practicable to dictate the precise degree to which that triumph should be carried; nor, where men are constituted as they now are, to require that they should all stop short at the word of command, and be ready to arrange their future creed exactly by the rule which was

thereafter to be measured to them by the sovereign power. The attempt to measure out such a rule was the grand mistake of the Tudor and Stuart princes, persevered in until it levelled the throne itself to the dust. The position taken for the English Church was a false position, and one in direct resistance to all experience of human nature. For it commanded dissent from the ancient doctrine, and yet left no room for opinion to exercise itself. It stimulated to reflection, and then punished the indulgence of it. It first treated man as a rational being, and then prescribed to him the uniformity of attitude which can be got only from blocks. In an age of excitement, when the mind, just freed from its fetters, was revelling and gambolling in the very wantonness of its newly-acquired power, it undertook to check these extravagances as if they were crimes. And, when the furious battle arose between the old and the new opinions, it ventured to assume a middle position, which, like all middle positions, satisfied neither party, and stimulated the ardor for victory in both. The Puritan directed his attack against the Church, only because he regarded it as the lurking-place from which Romanism might again spring out upon him, and bind him hand and foot, a slave for ever after to the Pope ; whilst the Catholic made his approaches gradually and cautiously against it from the hope, constantly entertained, that there was a sentiment existing within, which would lead to a voluntary surrender of the citadel, and thus save him the hazard of a storm. The Puritan wished to cut off the possibility of the existence of that sentiment, by removing from sight and hearing every bond of sympathy or tie of association which might tempt to a return. And this it was which gave rise to the disputes about forms, the sign of the cross in baptism, the wearing of the surplice, the ring in marriage, the nature of which superficial thinkers have since marvelled at rather than understood. To the reformer, these were all so many living signs of the restoration of the Papal supremacy, the strength of which was by no means diminished by the policy, singularly adapted to confirm his worst suspicions, which was put in practice by Archbishop Laud. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the popular impression respecting the probability of such an event has survived in England to this day. And the greatest controversy now going on in the Church, that growing out of the

publication of the "Oxford Tracts," turns upon this single point ; a controversy deemed of consequence enough to receive a distinguished notice in the pages of the very number of the "New York Review" now before us, which contains the charge against the Puritans, that their struggle was not religious, but *only* for the political ascendancy.

The truth is, that there were two very distinct shapes, in which the principles of the Puritans developed themselves, neither of which can with any fairness be put out of sight. The one is to be found in the religious disputes of the period in question, the other is clearly discernible in the Parliamentary History. In both will be seen the same origin of complaint, grievous oppression ; and, in both, the same earnest desire to sustain opinions boldly formed, honestly entertained, and fervently advocated. It is, therefore, with no small surprise, that we notice the reiteration of the word "profession," with so much emphasis, in the extract we have made. We can hardly persuade ourselves, that our brother Reviewers can mean to call in question the good faith, or sincerity in religious feeling, of those whom they attack. But, if they do, we can safely leave them to the enjoyment of their own suspicions, without hazard of injury from their effect. The pillory, the axe, the block, and the gibbet ; the loss of ears and noses, and of the means by which life can be made comfortable and honorable, rather than the surrender of an abstract opinion, form a class of arguments addressed to the minds and hearts of men, which soar far above the range of all ordinary methods of detraction.

The great error of the whole argument of the New York Reviewers, then, rests in a total misconception and consequent misrepresentation of the nature of the religious struggle that took place. They consider it as a mere struggle for power between two regularly organized parties, putting forward certain doctrines as the rallying-points for their members, but resorting to them only to cover a political end, the establishment of their own supremacy. It is difficult to show an instance in which the facts of history have been more singularly perverted. And writers, whose business it was to find some defence for their own hostility, by blackening the character of those whom they oppressed, when ascribing to the Puritans the worst possible intentions, are gravely quoted as authorities

from whom a conclusion may be formed respecting "the light in which these were viewed by their opponents," and a justification implied of the persecution which they suffered. The whole structure of the edifice is artificial in the extreme. There can be no doubt, that the doctrines of the Puritan reformers were generally considered *at court* as unfavorable to monarchy. King James took an early opportunity in his reign to express his opinion upon the matter. He laid down the rule, "No bishop, no king," at the Hampton Court conference, and distinctly announced to the Puritans then present, that "he would make them conform, or harry them out of the land, or else worse." But this surely is no justification for the persecution, which followed under Archbishop Bancroft, and was resumed with tenfold severity by Laud, on account of mere opinion; nor does it fix upon the Non-conformists, who submitted without resistance, the truth of any of the charges which their malignant enemies were so fond of advancing. The mode of making an extract here and there, from the most violent writers among the Puritans, in order to hold the whole body responsible for the acts of those individuals, is so obviously an enemy's trick, that it is astonishing any fair-minded writer could rely upon it for a moment, to support any position whatsoever. The object was so well understood at the time as to call forth very complete and satisfactory disavowals of the motives imputed; and these were often made in an authorized shape. "Let the bishops sift well our courses," they say, "since his Majesty's happy entrance in among us, and let them name wherein we have done aught, that may justly be said ill to become the ministers of Jesus Christ. Have we drawn any sword? Have we raised any tumult? Have we used any threats? Hath the state been put into any fear or hazard through us? Manifold disgraces have been cast upon us, and we have endured them; the liberty of our ministry hath been taken from us, and (though with bleeding hearts) we have sustained it. We have been cast out of our houses, and deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown no trumpet of sedition. These things have gone very near us, and yet did we never so much as entertain a thought of violence. The truth is, we have petitioned the King and state; and who hath reason to deny us that liberty? We have craved of the prelates to

deal with us according to law ; and is not this the common benefit of every subject ? We have besought them to convince our consciences by Scripture. Alas ! what would they have us to do ? Will they have us content ourselves with this only, that they are bishops, and therefore for their greatness ought to be yielded to ? The weight of episcopal power may oppress us, but cannot convince us."

We have not yet seen a particle of evidence to show, that these declarations were not perfectly sincere, and founded in truth. We have not seen a shadow of proof, that there was any struggle for power, or contest for the supremacy in the Church, or that the "end sought" was any other than the "end professed." The words of violent individuals may pass for what they are worth, but they cannot bind the greater number who were not consenting to them ; and there is not a solitary act of violence, on their side, until a very late period in the contest. The truth is, that there was plenty of purely political questions, which took the lead in the public attention. The struggle of the Puritans was one of resistance to the King. The violence of Laud drew the storm upon the Church ; and, if that was crumbled to the dust in the process, the Church must thank him, and him only, for the result. If the religious contest finally sunk in the political one, he made it do so, and forced upon his opponents the necessity of going over his body, which he voluntarily interposed between them and their ultimate object, the overthrow of a usurping sovereign.

In this statement of the question we do not propose to persist without ample authority. But, that we may not weary and embarrass our readers with numerous citations, we are willing, once for all, to rest the foundation of our case upon the testimony of Lord Clarendon himself. We do so with the more confidence, as his bias, both in religion and politics, cannot be questioned, and as what he says, if satisfactory to anybody, ought to be so to all members of the Church of England. Speaking of that period, when the tide of colonization was most rapidly setting towards Massachusetts, he says ;

"It was now a time of great ease and tranquillity ; the King (as hath been said before) had made himself superior to all those difficulties and straits he had to contend with, the four

first years he came to the crown at home ; and was now revered by all his neighbours, who needed his friendship and desired to have it ; the wealth of the kingdom notorious to all the world, and the general temper and humor of it little inclined to the Papist and less to the Puritan. There were some late taxes and impositions introduced, which rather angered than grieved the people, who were more than repaired by the quiet, peace, and prosperity they enjoyed ; and the murmur and discontent, that was, appeared to be against the excess of power exercised by the crown, and supported by the judges in Westminster-Hall. *The church was not repined at, nor the least inclination to alter the government and discipline thereof, or to change the doctrine. Nor was there at that time any considerable number of persons of any valuable condition throughout the kingdom, who did wish either ;* and the cause of so prodigious a change in so few years after, was too visible from the effects. *The Archbishop's heart was set upon the advancement of the church, in which he well knew he had the King's full concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition ;* and that he should need no other assistance."

What shall we now say to this new-fangled theory, which makes the Puritans the victims of a persecution they brought upon themselves for their political and not their religious opinions ? What can we do but pass it by with the contemptuous wonder which it merits, and proceed at once to the next proposition which follows it ? And, that we may do this no injustice, we beg leave to extract it in its original deformity.

" When the Puritans left England, they did it, not because they could not ' worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences,' but because they could not obtain the political ascendancy which they sought."

" It was under the circumstances above described, that several of the leading Puritans petitioned for charters and grants, authorizing them to establish colonies in this then western wilderness ; and the government, not unwilling to be rid of those they considered the leaders of a dangerous faction, unhesitatingly granted them the most full and ample powers, for carrying their designs into execution. This was a most favorable juncture for those who wished for liberal grants of *power*, as well as of *property*. Several corporations had been created for purposes of trade, with extensive political powers. These corporations comprised the two principles

of corporate powers for purposes of trade, and political power for purposes of self-government. They united the character of *trading companies* with that of the most highly famed *municipal corporations* at home. Singular as such bodies may seem to us, the creation of them at that time, was one of the most natural things in the world. And it was the creation of these bodies, anomalous in their character and design, that *originated and perpetuated* those principles of *civil liberty*, which form at once the basis and characteristic of our political institutions. The oft-repeated assertion, that our Puritan ancestors *discovered* those principles, is without the least foundation. So far from this, their history shows that they did not even appreciate, if they understood, the genius of the system which had been created for them. Consequently, the very first acts which they performed were to *abridging the liberty granted to the colonists by*

It is a question indeed of much interest, would not have extinguished some of the most important of their charters, had it not been for the self-government at home. Certain it is, that the royal charters, on this identical point, was one of the best made against the colonists, and this was one of the chief reasons for depriving Massachusetts of her charter. *For, as it may sound to the ears of some of our countrymen, that we owe the protection of the liberties of the colonies, not to the Puritans, but to the King. It was not the Puritans who resisted the encroachings, but the King and his Council that restrained the governors within the bounds of their charters.*" —

and strange enough to hear Charles the First protector of liberty in any shape, much more in a man whom he so cordially hated. If the fact is true, he has been most shockingly belied by his best friends by us. But strange as the assertion, now so commonly advanced, may be, it does not appear to me so strange than all the rest of the passage in the speech. There is a contempt of facts about it, which is very overwhelming. It is by no means clear, that the chief reason for granting these charters was to get rid of a dangerous faction. The fact, that Bancroft, Laud, and Laud afterwards, procured orders for the removal of many who were going, at a time when the policy there had been in it, was in the full career

of successful accomplishment, is in direct contradiction to any such supposition. The distinction made in the treatment of the several colonies is entirely overlooked. It should be remembered, that the first settlers at Plymouth were separatists from the church when they left Europe ; whereas those who came to Massachusetts still remained members, although unwilling to conform in all things. Accordingly, the former could get no patent, nor any assurance whatsoever of a positive nature, that they would be protected. The latter, on the contrary, obtained a charter, it is true, but one which gave no rights whatever to the colonists as such, but conferred upon a company in England, and *within easy reach of the crown*, the privilege of making settlements upon this side of the water. Nothing could be more arbitrary, nor more regardless of the principles of civil liberty, than the first organization of the corporation, as it was proposed to take place, under the natural and ordinary construction of that instrument whilst it remained in England. The King had granted nothing that looked like a privilege to the settlers, but had placed every thing of the kind within the discretion of a few persons under his eye. It is not too much to say, that, had there been no change from this view of the subject after the charter was granted, there would have been no colony to speak of. The condition precedent with the family of Winthrop, and all the persons who became principal settlers, was, *that the patent should go with them*. This, and not the patent, was the secret of all our liberty ; for, as one of our principal historians has correctly remarked, it was this which “effectually changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government.” It was thus, that the eagle burst forth from what appeared, at first sight, to be but an unpromising shell. The civil liberty of this colony, then, grew out of a very bold construction of the instrument of settlement, and by no means from that instrument itself. And for that construction we are indebted to the Puritans. They therefore did “*originate* and perpetuate those principles, which form at once the basis and characteristic of our political institutions.” Assuredly they did not “*discover*” them, nor were we aware, until the extract we have quoted announced it, that any good authority had ever pretended that they did, — for these were

known, in theory, long before, — but they have the merit of being the first who ever carried them successfully from theory into practice.

The assertion, that “our ancestors did not even appreciate, *if they understood*, the genius of the institutions which had been created for them,” can only appear ludicrous to all those who reflect upon the relative position which the parties to the contract occupy in our memory while yet in England. The idea, that Pym, Hambden, Vane, and all their associates among the Puritans, should be put to school to learn the alphabet of freedom from the lips of Charles the First, “supported,” as Clarendon writes in the passage already quoted, “by the judges in Westminster-Hall,” is enough to make one marvel at human folly. We will turn from such a spectacle to the refreshing admissions of a zealous churchman, who, though every page which he writes sparkles with the fire of prejudice, is yet too manly not to concede at once what his common sense dictated to be true. The following is the language of Dr. Southey, in his “Book of the Church.”

“By steadily enforcing discipline, Laud corrected many of the disorders at which his predecessor [Abbot] had connived. The churches were placed in decent repair, the service was regularly performed, the sacrament reverently administered. *They who would not follow the rubric were silenced*; and by refusing to ordain any person, except to a cure of souls, the number of Calvinistic Lecturers was diminished, and of those who, being retained as chaplains in the families of private gentlemen, disgraced the church by conforming to the humors and fancies of their patrons, by their incapacity, or by the irregularity of their lives. At the same time, through his munificent encouragement of learning, and his judicious patronage, means were taken for supplying the Establishment with men every way qualified for their holy office. The most zealous of the Non-conformists, alike impatient of submission or of silence, withdrew from the kingdom; some to Holland, others to New England, whither the most strenuous of their parliamentary adherents, believing that the triumph of the Establishment was complete, would have followed them, if the vessel in which they were actually embarked had not been embargoed. From that act events of greater importance

to society resulted, than was depending upon the ship which carried Cæsar and his fortunes; for Pym, Hambden, and Cromwell were on board. *Had these men been allowed to emigrate, the kingdom might have remained in peace, but it would have been under an absolute government, the tendency of which is inevitably to corrupt the rulers and degrade the nation.*"— Vol. II. pp. 358, 359.

So much for the protection of liberty by Charles the First. We now pass to the "consideration of the motives which induced the Puritans to leave home," being a point where our brother reviewers advise a pause. And, inasmuch as this is the place from which they begin to make use of the little tract, called the "Planter's Plea," for their particular ends, it may be as well to premise some general idea of its nature and character. It appears to have been written and published very hastily, a short time after the departure of Winthrop and his associates, and with the view of counteracting the effect of some unfavorable reports, which, even then, had been spread abroad, probably by the Brownes upon their return, respecting the designs of the colonists. Its most remarkable feature is, the earnestness with which it denies the existence of any intention, on their part, of separating from the Church of England, and the steady manner in which it proceeds upon the assumption, that no such motive could have swayed them when they left the mother country. This position is very much corroborated by the tenor of the farewell letter, dated on board the *Arabella*, from Yarmouth, and goes far to dispel the suspicion our contemporary strives to rouse, that they left "because they could not obtain the political ascendancy which they sought." They were probably reluctant to conform at home, and this, gradually and almost insensibly to themselves, widened into a total separation in the colony, where no opposite inducement existed to counteract that tendency. But, as such a view would by no means suit the purpose of the New York Reviewers, the way in which they resist it is not a little curious. They quote from the "Plea" in the following candid and impartial manner.

"The Plea," they say, "commences with an examination of the ground and warrant of colonies. The second chapter is an answer to the question, 'What ends may be proposed in planting colonies?' To this the author answers, first; 'Some

and the *worst*, and the least warrantable, are such as are only swayed by private respects ; as when men shift themselves and draw others with them out of their countries, *out of undutiful affection to governors, to exempt themselves from subjection to lawful power* ; or aim at a great name to themselves and to raise their own glory.' " — pp. 62, 63.

Now, let it be particularly noted, that this extract, made in the manner aforeshown, and with the passage in italics as it is *not* in the original, is so prepared as to leave an impression on the mind of the reader, that it was intended by the writer to apply to the Puritan colonists. So far from this being the truth, precisely the contrary is the case. For had the paragraph been continued but a line or two, it would have shown the instances to be "the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the East Indies," and "many colonies of the Romanes in Italy and other lands" ; and it would have further shown, that these are expressly cited to put them in *unfavorable* contrast with such colonies as are planted from "the desire and respect unto the publishing his [God's] name where it is not knowne, and reducing men, that live without God in this present world, into a forme of piety and godlinesse," which "*end, in plantation, hath bene specially reserved for this later end of the world.*" But this example of falsification, of authority is not the only one in the article we are now examining. For instance, after a series of partial quotations, which it would be sheer waste of time in us to expose, when we have so much of more consequence to do, it proceeds ;

"Our Author [that is, the Planter,] then goes on to speak more at large of the *motives* which induced them to come. He says, 'As it were absurd to conceive they have all one mind, so it were more ridiculous to imagine they all have one scope. *Necessity*, may press some ; *novelty* draw others ; *hopes of gain* may prevail with a third sort ;' but he is persuaded, 'that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope.'

"These facts, and abundance of others, of a similar nature, contained in the work, authorize the inference, that the colonists were regarded as factious persons, and that their opponents did not credit the pretension, that the advancement of the Gospel was the *sole* or *chief* object of their emigration. It is here also confessed, by one of the party, that 'necessity,'

'novelty,' and 'hope of gain,' as well as love of the Gospel, were among the causes that moved the colonists to come to this country; and, moreover, that the reasons for preferring New England to any other place, were the facilities for trading and the health of the country. The hope of propagating the Gospel among the heathen was one, but, according to their own showing, a secondary object with the Planters. In short, their own account of themselves shows that *they were men*; just such men, in fact, as had lived a thousand times before, and no doubt will live a thousand times again."—pp. 63, 64.

There is a short text of Scripture appended to the title-page of the "Planter's Plea," which we perceived to have been omitted in the transfer to the pages of our New York contemporary. This omission, which we at first were disposed to consider the result of accident, must, on further reflection, be construed as intentional. For it presented too glaring a rebuke to the execution of the purpose proposed in using the book at all, to be either conveniently or comfortably retained. It was not intended to "*prove*" any thing, nor to "*hold fast*" to that which was otherwise than bad. Take, for example, the ungenerous perversion of the candor of the "Planter," in the passage above quoted. He does not confess, as it is pretended, that "*necessity*," "*novelty*," and "*hopes of gain*," *were* among the causes of removal with the colonists. He only argues from general principles, that, where a number of men were acting together, there *might be* a variety of motives impelling them, and these might be some of them; but he immediately goes on to express his undoubting conviction, that the greater part, that is, "*the most, and most sincere and godly part*, have the advancement of the Gospel for their main scope," the two first and important words being *entirely omitted* in the review. To suppress such an important member of a quotation, used in argument, must be owned to be rather sharp practice. If there is one opinion running more than another throughout the whole of the eighty-four pages of the tract, if there is one point deemed impregnable by the author in his defence of the colonists, it is that which relates to the object which they had in coming over. He presses it, in every possible shape, as their great recommendation to the affections of the citizens of the mother country, which an attempt was making to alienate from them by the "*jealousie of some distempered*

minde, or by a desperate malicious plot of men *ill affected to religion.*" Such men, it goes on to say,

"Such men would be entreated to forbear that base and unchristian course, of traducing innocent persons, under these odious names of separatists and enemies to the church *and state*; for feare, least their own tongues fall upon themselves, by the justice of his hand, who will not faile to clear the innocency of the just, and *to cast backe into the bosome of every slanderer, the filth that he rakes up to throw in other men's faces.*" — p. 78.

It is undeniably true, that the Puritans were "*mere men.*" Had they been otherwise, we should like to know what would have been their merit. They shared deeply in the lot of humanity, and partook of its vicissitudes. But, whether in prosperity or in adversity, they had one virtue, which no circumstances nor suspicions can deprive them of; we mean that of being devoted followers of the path they believed to be right. They have been traduced, from their own day even down to ours; but this has only served to make their character rise higher at the cost of their maligners. It is an old remark of the French humorist, Montaigne, "*Donnez-moi la plus belle action du monde, je vous ferai voir qu'elle peut avoir eu cinquante méchans motifs;*" but he who goes about to assign them rather betrays his own grovelling propensities, than takes off from the beauty of the act he depreciates. Yet, inasmuch as the motives of the colonists have been impugned, and it is broadly affirmed, in the article we are now considering, that the design they had in view, whether at Plymouth, or Boston, or New Haven, or Hartford, was "*commercial,*" we propose to throw together, in a desultory manner, a few passages from the accounts given by themselves, which will, we trust, prove perfectly satisfactory to every unprejudiced reader.

"And thus much," says Elder Cushman, at Plymouth, in 1621, in an Epistle Dedicatory to the adventurers for New England, in the mother country, — "and thus much, I will say for the satisfaction of such as have any thought of going thither to inhabit; that for men which have a large heart, and *look after great riches, ease, pleasure, dainties, and jollity* in this world, (except they will live by other men's sweat or have great riches,) I would not advise them to come there, for

as yet the country will afford no such matters ; but, if there be any who are content to lay out their estates, spend their time, labors, and endeavours, for the benefit of them that shall come after, and in desire to further the Gospel among these poor Heathens, quietly contenting themselves with such hardship and difficulties as by God's providence shall fall upon them, being yet young and in their strength, such men I would advise and encourage to go, *for their ends cannot fail them.*"

"And for that the propagating of the Gospel," write the Governor and Deputie of the New England Company for a Plantation in Massachusetts Bay, in their first letter of instructions to Endicott, in 1629, "is the thing wee do profess above all to bee our ayme in settling this plantacon, wee have been careful to make plentiful provision of Godly ministers, by whose faithful preaching, Godly conversacon and exemplary lyfe, *wee trust not only those of our owne nation wil be built up in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may, in God's appointed tyme, bee reduced to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ, &c.*"

"Lastly, and which was not the least," says Morton's Preface to the Plymouth Church Records, "a great hope and inward zeale they had of laying some good foundation, or at least, to make some way theirunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ, in those remote parts of the world, yee though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing of soe great a work."

But we have neither room nor patience to quote all that we find in the "General Considerations for the Plantation of New England," the agreement between the settlers at New Plymouth, the original church covenant in Massachusetts, and in every other paper that emanated, directly or indirectly, from the Puritans during the first fifty years of the settlements, to show, that, either in one shape or another, religious feeling was uppermost in every thing which they undertook. Nor yet was it at all inconsistent in them, or derogatory to this motive, that they paid some regard to mere worldly convenience. If they "preferred New England to any other place for its facilities of trade and the health of the country," we are not aware, that religion would dictate that they should do otherwise. They were not bound, by the law of God, to starve nor to catch fevers. It is one of the peculiar and striking characteristics of the

Puritan colonists, and one for which they deserve commendation rather than censure, that, with enthusiasm upon points of faith, carried to so great a height as they carried it, should have been joined in them a great deal of sound, practical, English good sense upon every-day matters. This infused itself into every part of their system of self-government, and gave to it that steadiness which carried them so successfully through the violent collisions of opinion, that followed each other with great rapidity during the first years of the principal settlement. And it prevented them from becoming the laughing-stock of the world, as many wiser men in their own conceit, with far greater claims for reputation, have become, when they have attempted to reduce their theories to practice.

We must, then, still maintain for New England, that the foundation of her settlements presents a scene of moral sublimity not often witnessed in the history of the world. And until now we had indulged the hope, that all intelligent and educated minds, no matter what their shades of faith or their prejudices upon religious questions might be, were in the present age united in this opinion. What, then, was our surprise may well be judged, when our New York brethren were found to look down upon the whole proceeding with contempt. For of the men who made the settlements they say,

“Instead of looking *down* upon them, as on a point *some-what below ourselves*, where our ancestors did, in most respects, actually stand, we look at them through a highly refracting medium ; so that, to him who is ignorant of the facts in regard to them, they seem to be raised far above the place we now occupy.” — p. 49.

There was once a Pharisee, who “thanked God that he was not *even as this publican*.” Self-reliance is certainly a virtue, but it sometimes terminates in over-assurance, and then becomes a fault. When we reflect upon the nature of the sacrifices which have immortalized the fame of the Puritans, we think it requires some confidence in the easy and luxurious livers of the present day to claim, that they would be equal to making the same if they were tried. And they, who look *down* upon the Puritans, must have formed rare habits of looking up at themselves. “*Haud equidem in-*

video, *mirror magis*." We cannot enter into these feelings. We cannot bring to mind the circumstances, under which, for the love of truth in the abstract, as these persons conscientiously apprehended it, they were willing to tear up at once all the roots of association with home, and friends, and native land, to transplant themselves into a cold, and naked, and desolate country, where the original stocks must be content to remain stunted, even though they might put forth new and thriving scions for another generation to enjoy ; we say, we cannot bring to mind all these things without at once and involuntarily exclaiming, — These were *not* ordinary men. We should never be so bold as to engage for ourselves, that we could follow them, albeit at an humble distance and with unequal steps. We would at all events be spared the trial ; for, if heroism is the child of adversity, it is not the less a parent of great personal suffering. We honor it, because it rises *above* the ordinary strain of social doctrine. Happy they, who, like our brethren, feel the assurance, before trial, of future success in such a vocation ! We, who have not yet reached that pass, cannot, like them, be dispensed from looking *up* to our ancestors now, as we have ever done.

We know that the next topic is somewhat threadbare, and that we have already tried the patience of our readers ; but we nevertheless feel it impossible to avoid noticing the position, that "our civil and religious liberty exists, not in consequence, but in spite, of the spirit and genius of Puritanism." Even Hume, with all his contempt of religious professions, did not venture to go so far. His cold cynicism spared something for a bolder intolerance to decry. We shall not commit the absurdity of an argument directly upon the proposition ; particularly since we should be running into unequal competition with that which forms the very strongest part of Mr. Bancroft's historical work. Our purpose will be confined to the consideration of the reasons given in affirmation of what they assert. It did so happen, that Mr Bacon ventured to state, that "the one great purpose of extending the kingdom of God determined the form, the spirit, and the working of the civil institutions of the Puritans," at which our brethren take great exception, as we must venture to think, with very small justification. That it determined the

form is clearly enough shown in the great mixture of the Mosaic Law in the original code of the colony. That it determined the spirit and working is also manifest, both in the peculiar form of the government, as it was administered, and in the restriction of the right of franchise to those who were church-members, which secured a control over the mode of administration. This restriction, however, constitutes the great point of objection to the truth of Mr. Bacon's assertion, as well as of support to the broad attack upon Puritanism above cited, which it is our present desire to consider.

Now, in regard to the right and wrong of such a measure, when considered in the abstract, and without reference to any of the circumstances under which men commonly act, we do not imagine, that there would, at this day, be more than one opinion. But the moment, when we take it out of this negative position, and begin to surround it with the events and passions of common life, is that when the judgment must be called in, and sound discrimination exercised. We are free to confess, that we have always regarded it as the greatest evidence of worldly wisdom which the Puritans displayed, although it is not probable that it was adopted solely upon that ground. The idea of expecting any principles of liberty from the supervision of the government at home, was not exactly that which, from their experience, would ever have readily suggested itself in connexion with the names of Charles, and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. To them, these were names of terror here, as they had been there ; because they were indelibly graven upon their memory in association with the sacrifices they had been compelled to elect, rather than to surrender their convictions. They did not come to America without an object. That object probably was, to worship God in the manner which they liked best, and to secure to themselves a spot in which they might carry into execution their wish to perpetuate their modes of thought. To effect this, they laid down every thing deemed valuable on earth ; and hence the estimate they placed upon the successful attainment of it, was commensurate with the price it had cost them. They sowed in tears, that they might reap in joy. There was not a moment during the infancy of the colony, in which it was not in danger from enemies on both sides of the Atlantic.

There was not a moment in which the Puritans were not exposed to the danger of seeing the edifice of their erection completely overturned. That edifice was a sort of theocratic government, embodying their religious and their political notions, derived in a somewhat complex manner from the study of the Scriptures, and the genuine English principles with which they were deeply imbued. That this form of government was the result of a natural and simple construction of the charter which they had received, can hardly be maintained. They had probably themselves no small misgivings upon that subject. Yet it was the ability, in some sort, to protect that form, by holding over it the shield of the charter, which gave to that instrument its importance in their eyes ; and for the sake of this, and this only, did it have value at all with them. Now the fact, that enemies to that form existed in their own camp from the day of their landing, who eagerly sought for opportunities to break it down, was well known to them. The further fact, that those enemies were in direct communication with, and probably in the pay of, powerful chiefs at home, to whom no method of personal recommendation was likely to prove so strong, as the exposure of deeds which might be charged against the Puritans in Massachusetts as offences, is at this time pretty thoroughly made out, and was suspected even in their day. Gorges and Mason, Gardiner and Morton, Bennett, Maverick, and Gorton, men of very dissimilar character, and operated upon by opposite inducements, yet were all ready to unite with equal zeal to pull down what they could not hope to control. It was the requiring a qualification of church-membership to make a freeman, which pulled the fangs out of most of these serpents, and made them harmless against the infant settlement.

It is worthy of remark also, that the chief charges which these complainants were fond of preferring by no means correspond with those, which their successors of the "New York Review" desire to bring forward. They affirm, that the object of the Puritans was total independence, "*not new discipline*, but sovereignty," as Bennett says, in his letter to Archbishop Laud, an inference which he very naturally drew from their well-grounded apprehensions of the tyranny of his correspondent. Now, that the men who had been at so great pains

of body and mind to set up a civil and religious state, such as they deemed nearest to perfection of all they could imagine on this earth, should, when they had got it well established, stand ready to throw open to its enemies, at home and abroad, every avenue through which they could most effectively destroy it, appears to us to be expecting of them a degree of infatuated simplicity, which would have been far from doing them honor. Scarcely four years elapsed, before Laud had procured himself to be placed at the head of a commission, by means of which his arm, that had driven the Puritans from their homes in Great Britain, might be made long enough to reach them even in the spot of their refuge. The king's Attorney-general was at the same time following up the legal measures necessary to make the charter null, and serving his writ upon the company *in England*, thus clearly manifesting his sense of the meaning of the patent. It is true, that the Puritans still retained powerful friends, who loved and respected them too much, not strenuously, and at moments successfully, to resist the measures of hostility with which they were threatened. Yet, after all, it was only that revolution, which hurled the monarch from his throne, and brought the head of his church and himself to the block, that saved the colony from disorganization and despair. For the repeal of the charter would probably have been the signal for general dispersion to places without the jurisdiction of Britain, where ecclesiastical tyranny and Stuart despotism could not come.

But the New York Reviewers, when at all pressed by the continual proofs given by the Puritans of their attachment to liberty, strive to evade them by affirming that it was only the liberty of doing as they pleased. If by this it is meant to imply, that they pleased to do any thing which good morals, or religion, or their civil duties, would forbid, then is the insinuation so completely set at nought by the whole tenor of their records, that it is not worthy of a second thought. Generally speaking, colonists come from the less settled classes of society, who leave it to get rid of the restrictions upon the indulgence of their habits, which established laws and customs commonly impose. But the Puritans were an exception to this rule, inasmuch as, being members of a fixed population at home, they voluntarily and cheerfully imposed upon themselves, in their new state, rules of dis-

cipline even more rigid than those which they had left. There is no other such example in history. And it was quite as much from dislike of this discipline, which was by no means suited to people of vicious habits, as from any other motive, that men like Gardiner and Morton were first drawn into acts of hostility against the colony. Had it been less tolerant of gross immorality, perhaps Laud would have lost two of his most efficient coadjutors. Had they found a greater degree of that liberty which means license, and less of that which signifies law, they might have remained to contaminate our atmosphere with the breath of their freedom. If such men were among the instruments, through whom "the supervision of the government at home was exercising itself to retain the most liberal features of the charters" against the efforts of the Puritans, then is it very clear to us, that the latter were perfectly right in adopting the most vigorous measures to counteract their influence.

In truth, the period of thirty years from the first settlement at Plymouth, in 1620, was one of continual and incessant anxiety to the Puritans. And, even after the Church of England had fallen, they were not without fears of the authority of the Westminster Assembly, which made demonstration of a disposition to rule over them. The successful resistance made to the attempt conclusively proves how little they felt of sympathy with either party in that contest for the supremacy between the Church and Presbytery, into which our New York brethren seek so earnestly to impel them. They were of the class of Independents, who had no protectors with a particle of good-will in the highest places in England, until Cromwell came forward, and took into his own hands the reins of government, which the contention of others contributed quite as much as any efforts of his own to place there.

It is a striking passage in one of the historical works of Mr. Sharon Turner, in which, upon looking back at the peculiar coincidences which seemed absolutely requisite to the production of the Reformation, and which at the fitting moment did accordingly happen, he deduces, from what to mortal eyes were mere accidents, an inference of the existence of "a mysterious force perceptibly operative, which alters and overturns human affairs, and tramples down dignity and power."

And after extorting the unwilling homage of the Epicurean Lucretius to this truth,

“Usque adeo res humanas VIS ABDITA quædam
Obterit; et pulchros fasceis sævasque secures
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur,”

he leads the philosophical student gradually, but certainly, to identify it with a provident God. With very similar feelings to his, have we often called to mind the remarkable train of events which singularly concurred, from both sides of the Atlantic, to develop a wholly new system of social polity in this quarter of the globe. It would seem as if every shade of opinion in the old world had, in the first place, had its opportunity of occupying a place upon the new, and as if these had all been continually subjected since to mutual attrition and reciprocal modification, as well by reason of the closer drawing of the ties of intercourse between them, as of the process of fusion, which goes on even to this day in the new settlements. Whatever the ultimate result of this new formation of character may be, which cannot now be foreseen by the wisest, the share which the Puritan settlements of New England will have contributed can never be overlooked, even by the most superficial of observers. It surely was not for nothing, that they passed through the seven times heated furnace of affliction, and brought out with them in safety the institutions which they cherished as the apple of their eye. Nor yet was it for nothing, that they emerged from the critical age of revolutions without having been called to battle, and, with their social system hardened into strength, at the very moment when that of the mother country was crumbling into its original elements under the effect of ferocious conflicts. There may be some persons, who would find fault with them for resolutely adhering to the only mode, by which these results could have been brought about; and others, who might not have been inclined to regret it, if a hazardous liberality had ended in Massachusetts, as it did in the Catholic colony of Maryland, by establishing the authority of the English church. We hold no community of feeling with such men, wherever they may be. For, had this result been the will of Providence, New England must have ceased to be New England, and her subsequent history would have borne another face upon its pages. We respect the talents, and the learn-

ing, and the piety, which have distinguished the Church of England. But we do not forget, that passive submission to the divine right of kings has been a political doctrine not unfrequently heard in former days in her pulpits, nor that the test of church-membership has until very lately been applied at every avenue to official distinction in Great Britain. Hence, if there was intolerance among us, her example was not likely to have relieved us from the odium we incur on account of it ; whilst her high-toned monarchical theories might have had a wide sphere of influence at a subsequent day, and have thrown much weight into the scale of the mother country, when the ultimate struggle for independence came on.

We now come down to the last charge, and the only one with a show of good foundation, which we see in the whole article of our New York contemporaries ; the charge of religious intolerance. And, inasmuch as this is by no means a very new charge, nor one which is commonly denied to be just, nor one which either Professor Kingsley or Mr. Bacon undertakes to repel, we were a little surprised to see such a labor of quotation to establish it. The object appears to have been to bring it to bear upon civil questions, with which it has nothing to do. The institutions of the colonies were founded upon the principles of freedom, *not* made for the Puritans in their earlier charters, but deduced from them by themselves, notwithstanding that their religion was intolerant. The same fact was observable at the same time in the mother country, with only the addition, that a monarch and a bishop were adopting "Thorough" as their motto in the labor of subversion. The mind of man had hardly been long enough liberated from Papal shackles, to find its way to the ultimate consequences of a new principle. The lesson of tolerating what we consider to be erroneous opinions, is one at all times learned with great difficulty, and particularly where the subjects of difference are thought to be of momentous importance. Even when perfectly understood, which is scarcely the case before mature age, the practice of it is carried on under the perpetual resistance of man's passions and prejudices. Contention will inevitably breed anger, and this, in its turn, stimulates to immoderate triumph after victory, instead of that sacrificing concession, to make which throws the struggle inward upon one's self. We are not very sure, that even in

our day and generation, when we are so much inclined to boast of our superior light, there are not occasional evidences furnished us of the existence of a temper, which would need only the same power and the same provocation that Romanism had, again to kindle the fires of Smithfield, and to revive the watchword of St. Bartholomew. We do not censure any intolerant measures of the Puritans the less on that account; but, in view of their comparative ignorance of the truth, we are disposed to temper our sentence with mercy. Let him only who is wholly without sin in this respect cast the first stone. We seek to vent no reproaches upon unconscious error.

Nothing remains, if we except a trifling and somewhat hypercritical objection, made to the mode in which Mr. Bacon speaks of the settlements with the Indians for lands. We had supposed the main point involved to be the spirit in which the Puritans treated their claim of ownership, but are met with an application of the principle laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Johnson vs. McIntosh*, in 1823; a method of treating the subject, which we suppose is the natural effect of the preference, acknowledged so frankly by our brethren, of the doctrines of their own age over those of their predecessors. But, as some of our readers may still wish to know precisely what those predecessors thought of the subject, without the light of our modern judges to guide them, we will venture to quote for their satisfaction from the instructions given to Endicott by the government of the Company, upon the occasion of the first settlement of Massachusetts.

“Whereas in our last, wee advised you to make composicon with such of the salvages as did pretend any tytle, or lay clayme to any of the land within the territoryes granted to us by his Majesty’s charter, wee pray you now, bee carefull to discover and find out all such pretenders, and by advice of the councill there to make such reasonable composicon with them, as may free us and yourselves from any scruple of intrusion; and to this purpose, if it might be convenyently done, to compound and conclude with them all, or as many as you can, at one tyme, not doubting but, by your discreet ordering of this business, the Natives wil-be willing to treat and compound with you upon very easie conditions.”

We do not intend to go into the consideration of the nice question in political economy, whether the consideration given according to these instructions was an equivalent or not. It

is sufficient for us, that whatever title the Indians pretended to claim was met by acknowledgment, and a readiness to make compensation for the property taken. Inasmuch as value passed on both sides, it seems to us fair enough to consider the transactions as bargains, in which each party obtained articles they valued more, in exchange for such as they valued less. The mere fact, that the Indians' deeds contain the words "give, grant, and yield up," will be no argument against this view of the subject to those who remember, that most deeds in fee simple run in a similar manner. It is a remark made by Hutchinson, that the lands thus obtained were, with some exceptions, not worth the cost which it had taken to bring them into cultivation; so that, after all, the Indians may have obtained, for their qualified right of possession, quite as much as any person would consider its value. In the whole matter we see no stress to be laid upon any portion, excepting that which manifests the spirit of justice, and respect for the rights of others, in which the settlement commenced. And this we do not understand our brethren of New York as wishing to dispute.

We have now done with the article upon the "Politics of the Puritans" in the "New York Review"; an article which, we must be allowed to think, does no honor to the pages of that able magazine, and which, for a disingenuous use of authorities, and an illiberal spirit, upon colonial history, has not been exceeded since the days of George Chalmers. Perhaps, if the authors should again incline to search out materials in the "Planter's Plea" for an attack upon the motives and principles of our ancestors, they will give more deliberate consideration to the passages with which we now close our task. We recommend them most particularly to their attention, for the manly and generous tone which contrasts so strongly with their own.

"Now, for the better preventing of such suspicions and jealousies, and the ill affections to this worke, that may arise thereupon; two things are earnestly requested of such as passe their censures upon it, or the persons that undertake it. The first is, that although in this barren and corrupt age, wherein we live, all our actions are generally swayed and carried on by private interests; insomuch as sincere intentions of furthering the common good (grounded upon that love through which wee are commanded to serve one another) be the won-

ders of men ; notwithstanding, men would not thinke it impossible, that the love which waxeth cold and dyeth in the most part, yet may revive and kindle in some men's hearts ; and that there may be found some that may neglect their ease and profit to doe the church good and God service, out of a sincere love and affection to God's honour and the church's good. Or if, in the world's infancy, men out of an ambitious humour, or at present for private advantages and expectation of gaine, thrust themselves out from their own dwellings into parts farre remote from their native soyle ; why should not we conceive, that, if they doe this for a corruptible crowne, that the desire and expectation of an incorruptible (the reward of such as deny themselves for the service of God and his Church) may as strongly allure such as by patient continuance in well-doing seeke immortalitie and life ? And yet the favourable conceits that men entertaine of such as follow, in all their actions, the wages of their private gaine, and the jealousies that they are apt to entertaine of such as pretend onely the advancement of the Gospell, manifestly argue that the generall opinion of the world is, that some may be true to themselves and the advancement of their owne private estates, but hardly any to God and his Church. I should be very unwilling to thinke, they cherish this suspition upon that ground, that moved that sensuall Emperor to beleieve that no man was cleane or chaste in any part of his body, because himselfe was defiled and uncleane in all. This is then the first favour that is desired, of such as consider this action, to beleieve that it is neither impossible nor unlikely, that these men's intentions are truely and really such as they pretend, and not colours and cloakes for secret dangerous purposes which they closely harbour in their breasts, especially when all apparent circumstances concur to justifie the contrary." — pp. 79, 80.

ART. VII. — *Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst*, von Dr. GEORG HEINRICH BODE, Assessor der philosophischen Facultät zu Göttingen. — *Erster Band. Geschichte der Epischen Dichtkunst der Hellenen bis auf Alexandros den Grossen.* — *Zweiter Band. Geschichte der Lyrischen Dichtkunst der Hellenen bis auf Alexandros den Grossen.* *Erster Theil. Ionische Lyrik, nebst Abhandlungen über*

die ältesten Kultus- und Volkslieder, und über die Tonkunst der Hellenen. Leipzig. 1838. 8vo. pp. 524, 395.

History of Grecian Poetry, by Dr. GEORGE HENRY BODE, Assessor of the Philosophical Faculty at Göttingen. — *Vol. I. History of the Epic Poetry of the Greeks, down to Alexander the Great.* — *Vol. II. History of the Lyric Poetry of the Greeks, down to Alexander the Great. Part First. Ionic Lyric Poetry, together with Essays upon the most Ancient Religious and Popular Songs, and upon the Music of the Greeks.*

DR. BODE is not unknown to scholars in the United States. A residence of several years, as Greek Instructor in the Northampton School, brought him into personal relations with the principal men of letters among us. His Essay on the Orphic Poetry also, written at a very early period of his life, was introduced to American scholars through the pages of this Journal,* and gave a most favorable impression of his abilities and learning. Soon after his return to Germany, he published an elaborate edition of several ancient mythographers, which confirmed the high opinion already formed of his literary attainments. The present work on the history of Greek poetical literature will place his name still higher among the scholars of the age, and will be an acceptable offering to the lovers of classical learning, wherever the German language is cultivated.

To undertake the history of Greek poetry is a very ambitious literary enterprise. Undoubtedly, the intellect of Greece was unfolded with wonderful symmetry. One life seems to have run through every form it assumed, whether in poetry, rhetoric, art, or philosophy. With all their diversities, the Greek people were singularly homogeneous, both physically and mentally. Their national existence, and their intellectual activity, were rounded off so as to be complete. Yet within the limits of this completeness, what diversities of intellectual habits, moral tendencies, and political views! How strangely the Spartan soldier contrasted with the Athenian gentleman, the *καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς* of the ancient writers! How widely the legislation of Solon departed from that of Lycurgus! And how the short, sharp, pithy conversational style of the Lacedæmonians, where wit and wisdom, repartee, sarcasm, and truth were blended, and formed a weapon,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXI. p. 388.

the edge of which nothing could resist, — how curiously this compares with the fluent politeness, the “O most wonderful,” “O most dear,” and the graceful irony, and boundless versatility, of the smoothly winding Attic dialogue. And then, how strange the contrast between Greece united against the Persian invader, the Lacedæmonian and Athenian fighting and falling side by side ; — and the same Greece broken into struggling parties, — the Spartan armies ravaging the Attic fields, and the Attic fleets wasting the Lacedæmonian shores, and each inflicting on the other all the horrors of the long-protracted Peloponnesian war ! How furious were the conflicts of opposite political principles ; democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy ! How violent the contrasts of philosophical opinions and systems ! And yet all these contrasts were bound together by a subtle, all-pervading national feeling, which made them a part and parcel of the one and only Greek character. This Greek character was perfectly stamped on Greek literature and art ; and a history of Greek literature cannot be severed from the history of art, nor from the political history of the country. For all these together form an organic whole, and are as intimately united as the limbs of an animated body. When they are sundered, life vanishes under the anatomist’s fingers.

The permanency of this Greek spirit is not the least surprising phenomenon in the history of the world. It has endured, from the first glimmering of historic light, down to the present day, and the analogies between recent events and those of former times are at once striking and instructive. Between three and four thousand years ago, a royal government was established in Athens, by a foreign prince, who hushed the quarrels of warring tribes, established or renewed the forms of civil life, and built on the Acropolis a stronghold against invaders. And it was but yesterday, that the same city, and the same Acropolis, with the old Pelasgic wall, which outdates Theseus and Cecrops, still standing, were entered by a foreign prince, and made the seat of a new Hellenic kingdom ; the centre of a civil power, which has already reduced the wild mountain tribes under a government of laws. Three thousand years ago the exploits of Grecian heroes, during a nine years’ warfare against the dwellers on the Asiatic shore, were chanted by the singers of the Grecian isles ; and singers of the same Grecian isles are even now celebrating the deeds of heroes in a nine

years' warfare with the swarthy hordes from the same Asiatic shore; and a modern Odysseus, of Ithaca, stands among the highest heroic names. The bards have taken up again the broken harp of Greece; and, though its compass is narrowed, and its strings are fewer than of old, still, tones of the old Hellenic spirit are drawn from it once more. Twenty-four or five centuries ago, Herodotus related the long train of slaughter and conflagrations that attended the Persian invasion, with the final overthrow of the turbaned Asiatics; five or six years ago, Sourmeles sent out from the press of Ægina, a like history of a like invasion of turbaned Asiatics, which has gained for its author the appellation of the modern Thucydides. The assassination of Hipparchus, and the death of the assassin, were acted over again in the fate of Count Capo d'Istria. The piracies, mentioned by Homer, and described by Thucydides, have all been repeated, in modern times, among the islands of the Grecian seas. The superstitions of the Greek mythology are preserved, under slightly altered forms, among the songs of the Klephitic mountaineers. "They are the same *canaille*," remarked a French merchant in Athens, "that they were in the days of Themistocles." They have undergone innumerable revolutions and reverses; they have been ground to the earth by successive tyrants, who have, one after another, been swept away; but they have always cherished their national recollections, and their ancient Hellenic pride; they have written and spoken substantially the language of their great ancestors; they have ever refused to mingle with their barbarian oppressors; among their mountain fastnesses, a portion of them have preserved their Grecian liberty, as well as their Grecian spirit, unextinguished. Some have engaged in commerce, and acquired wealth; others have frequented the Universities of Western Europe, and returned thence, laden with the treasures of science and literature. Under all these circumstances they have never lost the consciousness of national existence, nor the mighty memories of the past; and they bear, to this day, in their features, indelible marks of their descent from those ancients, whose perfect forms are immortalized in the marble. They are the same *ἐλικωνες Ἀχαιοί*, the same bright-eyed Achæans, of whom Homer sung "three thousand years ago."

The political history of the Greeks has been handled in various ways by modern writers. The English, whose po-

litical experience and practical liberty give them great advantages for understanding the spirit of foreign and ancient history, have devoted much attention to the Grecian States. But the value of their labors has been materially diminished by the fact, that their ablest historical writers have permitted the prejudices and partialities of modern political divisions to sway their judgments upon the events and characters of remote antiquity ; so that what is gained on the one hand, is, perhaps, more than lost on the other. Mitford's "History of Greece," though, in many respects, a work of considerable ability, is notoriously false in historical coloring. All the most important events of Grecian history are distorted, and all the most illustrious characters of antiquity, are blackened, merely to gratify a rancorous hatred against every form of popular liberty. A proceeding of this kind, conducted on such a prodigious scale, can never be too severely stigmatized. On the other hand, Bulwer's flashy History of Athens, is a work too thoroughly fictitious, perhaps, to be subjected to the principles of historical criticism ; yet, as it passes for a real history, and makes no ordinary pretensions to scholarship, and is called a history by its author, it will probably be so received by what affects to be the reading public. What the value of this pretender's historical judgments may be, is sufficiently shown by his defence of that monstrous institution of the Athenian democracy, the *ostracism*. We are not going too far, when we say, that, considered as histories, both these works are worse than worthless ; for they are written on principles radically wrong. They are false, beginning, middle, and end. Considered as works of fiction, some people may find them entertaining. They are certainly full of invention.

Still less has been done towards illustrating the literary history of Greece by English scholars. In fact, no profound and comprehensive view of Greek literature has ever been attempted in the English language. Classical learning has, it is true, been always one of the leading objects of British education ; and there have always been, at the British Universities, men of distinguished classical attainments. Their contributions, however, to the stores of classical learning, for the use of the whole literary world, have been comparatively unimportant. The great Bentley was a man of astonishing reach of mind and vigor of reasoning ; but his attempts upon the text of ancient authors may be estimated, and fairly esti-

mated, by his conjectural emendations of Milton's "Paradise Lost." Porson was an eminent scholar ; but he did very little, indeed, for the promotion of classical learning ; and even that little, particularly in the department of metre, is of no great value at present. It is very curious to observe, how mechanical and slavish English scholarship has been since ; and with what reverence the *dicta* of a few distinguished men have been almost universally received and regarded. For example, if an expression is found in a Greek tragedian, which defies the canons of the great masters, the commentator remarks, " This expression *violates* the canon of Dawes," or " This line cannot be reconciled with the principle of Porson," or " Porson says it must be so and so ;" as if the canon of Dawes and the principles of Porson were the first authorities to be consulted, and the ancient author himself really had but little to do with settling the question ; and the chances are, that the genuine text will be mutilated, to make it correspond with the rule so mechanically laid down. Elmsley's ludicrous fanaticism against anapæsts in Tragic Iambic verse is a fair example of the epidemic pedantry among the older English scholars. Blomfield's *Æschylus*, a work, upon the whole, of creditable learning, offers readings which the poet-soldier, if he could rise from his grave, would look upon with wonder, if not with indignation. It is impossible to conceive a more atrocious piece of literary quackery, than cutting and slashing the lines of an ancient poet, to enable the modern reader to count off the syllables at his fingers' ends. Poetical rhythm is to be judged more by the musical sense, than by the *tum-ti* systems of learned gentlemen, who have deadened their perceptions of nature by the thousand-fold subtleties of mere verbal criticism. A better spirit has been recently shown among the Hellenists of England. Mitchell's edition of a part of the Comedies is an honor to British scholarship ; and the same may be said of Arnold's *Thucydides*. Thirlwall's " *History of Greece*," also, is entitled to very high praise.

In Germany, on the contrary, the study of classical antiquity has been prosecuted with boundless industry and learning. The German scholars, apart from the concerns of practical and political life, have created, in regions of science, letters, and art, a career of intellectual activity, which they have followed up with a zeal and enthusiasm elsewhere unequalled. The two languages of classical antiquity have been explored by them with the most minute and searching care ; they have

been illustrated from every conceivable source ; and if their full import has not been perfectly brought to light, it is because of the impossibility of restoring all the meaning and variety of languages, which have ceased to be used in the living intercourse of men. The best grammars of the Latin and Greek languages have been written by Germans ; except the immortal work of Forcellini (the "*Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*"), incomparably the best dictionaries of the Latin and Greek languages have been written by Germans ; the most learned, comprehensive, and thorough works on the arts and antiquities of the Greeks and Romans have been written by Germans ; so that the classical scholar, who is ignorant of what the Germans have done, in every department of ancient learning, must be content to remain far behind the scholarship of the age.

But the peculiar circumstances, in which the German literati are placed, have led them as a body, into faults of a grave character, which the American student must sedulously guard himself against. They are much inclined to paradoxical opinions for the sake of their novelty ; their theoretical views are not sufficiently tempered down by common sense and the experience of daily life ; they are apt to lose themselves in the airy regions of abstruse speculation ; they often reject old views for no better reason than that they are old, and supply their place by new ones, which are supported by the slenderest possible proofs ; they elevate a single fact, or a mere hint, by itself of little or no consequence, into an unwarranted dignity, by making it the basis of a theory, or a leading idea of some startling and paradoxical system ; and it must be confessed, they are fond of abusing their privilege of being mystical and obscure in their style, to a degree unheard of among other nations. All these remarks are supported, also, by the admissions of some of their most sensible writers. Thus it happens, that, while we may regard the German scholars as admirable models of patient research, and conscientious industry, and while we must resort to the treasures which they have accumulated, if we would investigate any department of learning to the best advantage, still we must enter a protest against taking them, as a general rule, for models of arrangement, style, and reasoning. The perfect ideal of a scholar would be one, who should unite the labor and learning of the German, the practical sense of the Eng-

lishman, and the transparent clearness and admirable method of the Frenchman.

But it is time to return to the work, whose title is placed at the head of this article. It is marked, both by the excellences and defects, which belong to its German origin. In learning, it is minute, extensive, and profound. Scarcely a fact, in the history of those branches of Greek literature, which are taken up in the volumes already published, has escaped the author's vigilant eye. Every topic, both of fact and speculation, every question, both of ancient and modern criticism, every view, that has heretofore been presented on the contested points of Greek learning, is dealt with according to the author's judgment of its importance. But this truly German method has led him into an excessive detail, which grows occasionally tedious, even to the most conscientious reader. Amidst such a multiplicity of particulars, we fail to arrive at distinct, general views. We lose our way in the labyrinth of minute discussions, and look about us in vain for some Ariadne's thread to guide us out into the clear light of day. The author fails, too often, to gather up the separated lines of his learned inquiries, and draw them all into a single, irresistible conclusion. The work is not a well-proportioned edifice. Some parts are dwelt upon altogether too long, and are raised to an importance wholly out of proportion to their general bearing upon the rest. But he frequently presents illustrations of his views, drawn from the world of ancient art, that are at once beautiful and instructive; and we do not know a writer, who has more successfully availed himself of this abundant source of tasteful analogies and convincing argument. Besides excessive details, it seems to us, that the learned author has erred on the side of excessive divisions and subdivisions of his subject-matter. It may, perhaps, be a question, whether the literature of any nation can be adequately set forth, upon any other plan than that of taking up its several branches, and completing the history of each by itself. But we are inclined to think, that a history which should present all the literary phenomena, as they arose, giving to each its proper place and its just weight, and blending the political fortunes of the nation, so far as would be necessary to present a complete, well-proportioned, and harmonious picture of the collective intellect of the people, would be more satisfactory, than the

most elaborate and able work, which represents the literary achievements of a people, as it were, by piecemeal. This remark is particularly true, when we apply it to the literature of the Greeks, on account of the extraordinary homogeneity of all their intellectual achievements, as we have before observed. A work upon the other principle, especially if its author sees fit to publish it by single volumes, almost necessarily loses the interest of a completed whole, and fails to give the pleasing impression of correct proportions. Now these two things are the leading characteristics of all the productions of Grecian genius, and ought to characterize every work devoted to the exposition of the intellectual life of the Greeks. We cannot affirm, that Dr. Bode's work fulfills this condition.

The first volume is devoted to the history of epic poetry, and we quote from the Introduction the following passage, for the sake of letting the author express the principles by which he has been guided, in his own way.

“The poetry of the Greeks was unfolded from the very midst of the whole nation, like an intellectual power; it was not propagated under a stiff and contracted form, by artificial and toilsome care, as the heir-loom of particular classes. It may be set forth under two principal historical bearings. We may consider it as a complete whole, though its inward connexion is often made out only from uncertain fragmentary accounts; in the frequently recurring voids, the connexion can, for the most part, be divined only by analogies drawn from free combinations, and can rarely be ascertained with clearness. Then the history of it must endeavour to grasp the intellectual spirit and purport of the national life, so far as they have been expressed under the forms of poetry, and to follow them out, through all the steps of culture, and in all their phenomena. By this psychological method, our investigation brings us to a clear perception of the interior course of poetry, and might furnish no small contribution towards the history of man, if, at the same time, it should point out the close connexion, which was kept up, with ever increasing importance, between the poetical activity of the Greeks and all their political relations, however modified by considerations of morality and religion, from the earliest beginnings of their national existence, to the period when their political and intellectual powers were completely unfolded. The delineation will, therefore, dwell longer upon the most eminent minds, because by their creations we are most exactly acquainted with every step in the progress of the national mind,

and because they have at the same time given the most powerful impulse to new careers of activity. Regarding these, then, as the main pillars, on which the whole structure is supported, we shall find it easy to point out by analogy the symmetrical proportions of the single parts to the whole, which whole consists in what may be called an intellectual unity, even with regard to the connecting links which have been lost; for all the forms of Grecian poetry have been unfolded by a growth so perfectly natural and regular, that each makes a whole of itself, and is guarded against all intermixture with other species, by a definite type and outline, within which the same conformity to law prevails. Such a representation of Grecian poetry from within, however, and the treatment of its external history, which is the other point of view from which it may be delineated, are by no means to be divided, if all the peculiarities and phenomena, embraced by the comprehensive province of poetical activity, are to be historically recorded, and brought under a general view coextensive with the purpose to be accomplished.

“A distribution of the whole into definite portions and classes is the more necessary here, since a mere record of all the monuments of poetry, without classification, would only have the appearance of an unorganized mass. But, while making such an external disposition of the parts, we must be careful never to lose sight of the collective culture of the nation, so far as this has been taken up into the poetical literature, and made a portion of its conscious existence. It forms what may be called the frame-work to the proper picture of the poetry, referring, as it does, to the personal relations of the several poets after the received accounts of the ancients, defining the peculiarities of their art, according to their works, or to fragments of their works, and seeking to give a fair view of their poetical import, according to settled principles of criticism. By this method, we can easily take the several species of poetry from the great affluence of the literary phenomena and trace them out by themselves. These various kinds of poetry have exercised the powers of genius in very different gradations, sometimes freely and nobly; at others, under a contracted form, and merely by accident. Besides, as long as the separated races of the collective Hellenic nation existed free and independent, the different species of poetry also were freely and independently unfolded, and their peculiar tendencies may, therefore, be easily detected, and arranged under the given classes. But the literary historian must not make this specification of classes his final aim; on the contrary, it must be subordinated to the higher laws of the inner repre-

sentation, which endeavours to grasp the fixed and organic connexion of the entire poetical efforts of the age, that are recorded by outward history only one by one or in homogeneous masses, and to bring them into a united whole, wherever this can be done. But to facilitate the general survey, even with regard to the interior history, it is necessary to adhere to definite epochs, although they may break up the unobstructed course of poetry. But clearness of view in the general representation demands this sacrifice, although we often have to take up together those phenomena of a new epoch, the roots of which run into a preceding period; which owe to its fruitful soil, not only their existence, but their most efficient nutriment, and which are lost again among the variegated multitude of intellectual tendencies, so that it remains doubtful under what division of time they may most suitably be placed. According to this view, therefore, the entire extent of Greek poetry, down to the time of Alexander the Great, should first be laid off into the three leading species, the Epic, the Lyric, and the Dramatic, after we have taken a preliminary survey of the indefinite period of mythical antiquity.

“When, therefore, we proceed to the division by epochs, we must make the first or preliminary period extend from the earliest dawn of poetical activity to the time of Homer, representing particularly the Orphic age. The second period, from Homer down to the Persian wars, Ol. 72, 3, or 490 before Christ, embraces the range of Greek national poetry, according to the threefold division into Ionic, Æolic, and Doric. It includes the historical progress of the Epic, the Ionic Lyric, particularly of Elegiac and Iambic poetry, of the Lesbian and Æolian *melos*, and of the Doric choral odes, tracing them through all their manifold appearances and directions, and thus prepares for the third period, which extends to the time of Alexander, Ol. 111, 1, or 336 years before Christ, embracing the entire literature of the Drama, according to the three divisions of Tragic, Satyric, and Comic. It is called the Attic period also, and it united within its limits the most complete creations of epic and lyric poetry, and moulded them into magnificent works of art for theatrical representation. The long interval between the age of Alexander and the capture of Constantinople in 1453, contains nothing but repetitions and variations of the earlier kinds of poetry. These were no longer the natural and necessary growth of organic culture. They were single and disconnected attempts, which were raised to beauty of form, at the beginning, by the toilsome efforts of Alexandrian scholarship, on the basis of classical poetry. After the establishment of the Roman Universal Empire, which took place 30 years before

Christ, they branched out anew into sophistic subtilties. They sunk lower and lower, however, through the merely literary pursuits, which were the prevailing objects of the times, and finally, after Justinian, A. D. 529, degenerated into the unnatural distortions of the Byzantine Christian, or Middle Greek, style." — Vol. I. pp. 3-6.

It has been common among writers to set aside the inquiries of the Greeks themselves into their own antiquities of literature and art. This has been too hastily done. But it is true, that, with regard to some points, the Greek inquirers indulged too freely in merely fanciful speculations; that they amused themselves with etymological whims, which the sounder views of modern scholarship have rejected. Still, it must be admitted, that some of the Greek philosophers at least were men of careful industry, patient research, calm and cool judgment, as well as of brilliant imagination and splendid eloquence; and to set aside the opinions of such men, considering too the vast abundance of the materials which they had and we have not, is the very height of literary arrogance. The traditions of Orpheus, and the poetry which passed under his name, were an early object of investigation to the lively and curious-minded Greek. The dim legends concerning the roaming life of Homer were a fascinating theme of speculation and inquiry; and other epic bards and lyric poets were by no means neglected. The hints that are scattered here and there over the works of Aristotle, with regard to the early history of Greek poetry, are invaluable guides to inquirers at the present day. He wrote a treatise on the poets, consisting of three books, and another of equal length on the art of poetry, out of which an incoherent abridgment was afterwards made, confined principally to epic and dramatic poetry, which, in spite of its fragmentary state, contains the best exposition of the Hellenic theory of art. Besides this, he wrote independent treatises on some of the most distinguished poets, such as Homer and Euripides; six books of Homeric inquiries, and essays upon the Olympic and Pythian victors, upon the Dionysiac contests, and upon Tragedies, and tragic instruction. This branch of study was zealously followed up by his disciples, and to a certain extent by the elder Platonists. Works on the poets were also written by Phanias of Eresus, and Hieronymus of Rhodes; and the celebrated Heraclides of Pontus was the author of an important work on

poetry and the poets. Glaucus of Rhegium wrote upon the elder poets and musicians ; and numerous other names of more or less note have been handed down to us from antiquity, in connexion with this line of inquiry. The view which Dr. Bode presents, of what the Greeks themselves accomplished for the history of poetry, is at once learned and interesting, condensed and comprehensive.

We translate the following remarks on the Greek philosophy of art.

“ It cannot be exactly ascertained, at how early a period the art of the Greeks was made a particular theme of speculation. Here and there a few hints on its nature, aim, laws, and effects, occur in the oldest poems of the Greeks themselves. But worthy as these are to be examined by the expounder of the theory of art, properly so called, still they afford no certain insight into the philosophical view and the developement of art among the ancients. With respect to the latter, we have only to consider the demands which the speculation of the philosopher makes upon the works of the artist. We have nothing to do with the plastic impulse, which is present clearly to the poet's soul at the moment of creation, and from which the work of art proceeds. This impulse, however, is not required to unfold the laws upon which the work of art is constructed and completed. A poem, on the contrary, which exhibits most clearly to the philosophic eye its own conformity to law, is the more noble and complete the fewer outward marks it bears of antecedent reflection upon the principles of art involved in its structure. We should not, therefore, draw a conclusion too hastily from the excellence of the creations of Hellenic art, as to a high point of completeness of the Greek theory, at least so far as it was expressed in written works.

But still, the philosophers of the most ancient times, when art was yet in the full vigor of its active powers, began to turn their attention to the establishing of those laws, which modify its character and limit its extent. The theoretical views of music, which was always inseparable from poetry, were indeed completed earlier in the general theory of Greek art, and were first set forth by Pythagoras and his disciples upon mathematical principles. Philolaus seems to have investigated this subject most earnestly. Like most of the Pythagoreans, he founded his theory on the observance of a relation of quantity between the higher and lower tones, and endeavoured to define this relation by abstract reason, without taking the intimations of the senses at all into the account. This is what constitutes the calming and purifying power which the Pythagoreans attributed to music ; and for

this reason, and in perfect accordance with the mathematical and speculative intellectual tendencies in general, they approved only of such harmonies as produce the abovementioned effect. Yet the elder Pythagoreans appear not to have left behind them any special treatises upon music in itself considered, and apart from their philosophical system. The oldest work on music known to antiquity, was written by Lasus, the instructor of Pindar ; but to what extent the author carried his idea of music, and particularly whether he discussed also what is properly called poetry, is unknown. Democritus, an early contemporary of Socrates, and a thinker of strong powers and various culture, occupied himself upon these studies in a wider range. No less than ten musical works are mentioned as his. These embraced nearly every part of the theory of art, particularly poetry, rhythm, and harmony, the beauty of the epic, the harsh or agreeable sounds of the letters, Homer, orthoepy, song, diction, together with an onomasticon, painting, and perspective. But, as Suidas acknowledges but two works of Democritus as genuine, it is probable that most of the abovementioned treatises were written by other authors bearing the same name. For example, Diogenes mentions a musician, called Democritus of Chios, who must have been a contemporary of the philosopher of Abdera, and who certainly instituted special inquiries into many subjects of his art, as some still-existing fragments of his writings indicate. But the great Abderite was one of the first who expressed the opinion, with regard to the essence of poetry, that it was not so much a work of art as of an indwelling divine power of inspiration, an unconscious mastery of genius, a nobler kind of madness. By these strong and bold expressions, which Democritus used elsewhere in his representations, he certainly intended merely to oppose the view of those, who regarded poetry as a faculty that might be acquired by effort and practice, like logic and rhetoric. But that such a view existed at that time, and was frequently discussed, may besides be inferred from the flourishing state of the sophistic art, to which Democritus must have felt as great an aversion as Socrates. And it is worthy of remark, that the Platonic Socrates also shares this opinion with Democritus, that poetry is an original and mighty power springing from the inmost regions of the soul, which can only lend a greater vigor to the poet's genius, and that it consists in a kind of possession. 'For,' says he, 'the third species of madness comes from the Muses. It seizes upon pure and tender souls, urges them to pour out their divine delirium in songs of every kind, and moulds the coming times, by embellishing the numberless great deeds of the past. But he who, without the madness of the Muses, draws

nigh the portals of poesy, supposing that art alone can make him a poet, remains unsuccessful, and fails to enter the sanctuary. He, and the poetry of the self-possessed, are nothing in comparison with the poetry of the mad.* This view, which was received with equal favor both by the poets and philosophers, because the Hellenic faith derived it from an ancient tradition, furnished every thinking mind with the most appropriate symbol for his lofty musings upon the essence of creative art, which appears to most men incomprehensible and divine, and, according to the expression of the sagacious Pindar, cannot be acquired. Such a divinely-inspired sense Democritus attributed to Homer, who often places himself figuratively under the immediate influence of a higher power, to whose control he submits; he said of Homer at the same time, 'He built the structure of the varied verse.' When speaking of other poets, Homer generally derives the impulse to song from Apollo and the Muses, and calls them at the same time, *self-taught*; whence it is clear, that, when he himself composed, he was fully conscious of his own activity, and could not really have believed that the self-acting mind was overmastered by a divine power coming from abroad; a fact which is likewise shown by the quiet clearness of his poetry. Democritus, therefore, spoke only poetically of the inborn power of the poet, somewhat as Homer himself speaks, but by no means as the comic poets affirmed more in jest than in earnest, that the poet could draw genuine inspiration only from the wine-cup, and that the state of intoxication was the best fitted for the production of poetic works of art.

"There is but little information to be drawn from Plato, and scarcely any thing from later authors, upon the mode in which the elder sophists were accustomed to handle the theory of poetry, or at least to put on the appearance of being able to speak upon it with scientific precision. According to Plato, they treated the old poets like sophists in disguise, and had the art of proving out of them the most contradictory propositions. Still they threw out, here and there, some acute expressions, by which they often showed a just idea of the nature of art, without being able to subject the conception to a precise philosophical analysis, especially the conception of the beautiful as the highest aim of art. But contemporaneously with them, Socrates, in his unceasing effort to pierce through outside appearances, and to make the moral essence of all the labors and creations of man an immediate subject of knowledge, applied his severe method of criticism to poetry.* This was more

* We are not quite sure, that we have here given the precise meaning of our author. German speculators, in criticism as well as philosophy, some-

completely carried out by Plato, and, from his point of view, was elevated to the rank of a scientific theory.

"The views of Socrates are expressed with greater fidelity by Xenophon than by Plato, who often makes his master unfold opinions that are purely Platonic, and that are not a little inconsistent with the accounts of Xenophon. Socrates himself, as it appears, held the good and the beautiful to be identical, and defined both according to the usefulness for this or that end, to which they were designed originally to correspond. This conception he applied both to spiritual and material beauty, but the reporter engages in no proper analysis of the conception; he affirms, however, that Socrates was the inventor of that well-known theory of art, according to which a beautiful piece of sculpture is to be formed by combining the single beauties that are scattered over nature. This was really the method adopted by the sculptors of that age, among whom Socrates himself was once numbered, and consequently was able to speak upon the subject with accuracy."—Vol. i. pp. 23, 28.

This general outline is followed by an essay on Plato's philosophy of art. This great writer was the first who reduced all the phenomena of art under the general head of imitation. He regards not only the forms of the external materials, but also the mental images of the ideal world, which art loves to embody, as imitations. According to his theory, the poet can have no free exercise of will, creative fancy can enjoy no independent action, but the highest problem of poetry is to apprehend and set forth things as they actually exist. It must be added, to give a fair exhibition of his views, that the Greeks considered the world of ideas, as something existing by itself, and placed far above the ever-recurring changes of human opinions, and that they had a peculiar power of incorporating thought, and of setting forth these ideas under established types. This facility of giving to ideas a sensible representation naturally produced among the reflecting Greeks the opinion, that the artist had nothing to do but to imitate or

times hide their meaning under so many coatings of metaphysical phraseology, that it is next to impossible to find it. The dubious part of the sentence is as follows;—*"im unablässigen Streben, den wahren ethischen Gehalt alles menschlichen Schaffens und Treibens, aus der Tiefe der Erscheinungen zur objectiven Erkenntniss zu bringen."* literally, "in the unceasing effort to bring the true ethical import (or intrinsic worth) of all the creation and business of man, from the depth of phenomena to objective recognition." The passion for words that look profound, diminishes materially the value of many otherwise excellent and learned works by the German scholars.

set forth the intellectual images existing in his own soul, and is by no means to be regarded as himself the creator of those ideas. This is the fundamental principle of poetic imitation, which forms the starting-point of Plato's speculations, and differs essentially from the modern theory of the mere imitation of nature. To form a correct opinion of Plato's judgment upon the relative value of poetry, we must place ourselves upon the same height of speculation, from which he surveyed all the creations of art. But he regards the unchangeable harmony of the world of ideas as "the very head and front" of his philosophy, and adopts the hypothesis of a former state of existence, where men lived in the immediate contemplation of the true and eternal beauty of ideas. All knowledge to which man can again arrive, consists according to him, only in reminiscences; but memory itself flows from everlasting being, and thus assures us of the immortality of the soul. Now, when the creative impulse is begun, and the memory of the idea stands clearly before us, then begins the act of imitation, or of bodying forth the idea. The very first intuition of the idea changes the ordinary condition of the soul, and begets that enthusiasm which creates from memory, and in which the real essence of things is brought to light. Regarded as a special favor of the deity, this state of mind, which even Plato calls madness, is by no means inconsistent with the possession of reason and understanding, but must be considered as the source of the highest blessings. Still madness and rationality, which this condition would seem to unite, stand in the sharpest contradiction to each other; a contradiction which Plato reconciles, by drawing a distinction between the madness which springs from human infirmity, and that which springs from a divine exaltation of the ordinary state of the soul. But, as he believes the divine madness to be something wholly different from a common disorder of the mind, so is the rationality, which guides the divine madness to imitative activity, something wholly different from the perishing reason, whereby the ordinary man regulates mere external affairs, but can never move in the higher region of the divine. The more noble and philosophical reason, according to Plato, stands at a higher point, and begins to act only where common sense sees its final end and aim. It recog-

nises the reality of divine things, and constantly endeavours to accompany the enthusiasm, that is, the inspiration of the divine power, to discover the true nature of things in the memory, and to find out and secure the immortal element in the mortal, and devotes its whole existence to the love of philosophical investigation. But now, mere human reason, without the divine inspiration, undertook to exercise itself upon art. Art, however, within this earthly circle, only implies a faculty or talent, and is again opposed to the inspiration of the Muses. That only, which man produces under this creative impulse and enthusiasm, belongs to genuine art, and is by no means to be confounded with the results of mere technical ability ; but Plato thinks creative impulse can hardly be called art with propriety, because it is not produced by the application of scientific knowledge, does not move within circles drawn by itself, nor can be extended at will. It is an inborn power of the mind, excited by an impulse from within, but guided and carried forward by reason. Considered from this point of view, Plato's noble disquisitions upon poetical inspiration, as the opposite of an acquired accomplishment, and of the poetry of the understanding, appear in a wholly different light from that in which they are usually regarded. It is called without qualification a divine gift, and is beautifully compared to a magnet, which not only shows its inward power by attraction, but also imparts it to objects with which it is brought into contact. For, according to him, the Muse first inspires the poets, and these communicate some part of their inspiration to other men, such as the rhapsodists.

These are some of the leading views of Plato, which Dr. Bode has carried out to a great length of detail, and with a thorough mastery of the subject. We have no very coherent statements of the theoretical opinions held by the other disciples of Socrates, and by the elder disciples of Plato. Although art, and beauty, which is the aim of art, were the most favorite subjects of philosophical speculation, yet no deeper views of its nature and essence seem to have been presented by them. The Cynic philosophers, Antisthenes in particular, refused to acknowledge any thing as beautiful, which was not shown to be good at the same time. They would have nothing to do with beautiful appearance, and waged war upon the whole circle of the Hellenic *μουσική*. Of the Socratic philoso-

phers, who occupied themselves more expressly upon the conception of art, the names of three are handed down; Crito, who wrote on poetry and the beautiful; Simmias the Theban, who investigated poetry, the beautiful, and other kindred subjects; and Simon the Athenian, whose works on poetry, music, and the beautiful, show that investigations of this sort were then very zealously carried on. Aristotle, who assumed the idea of imitation as the starting-point of his inquiries, by a more careful developement of the idea of imitation considered in itself, arrived at a result wholly different from Plato's. Far from rejecting poetry, and particularly dramatic, because it rests upon the principle of imitation, he finds precisely in this its highest perfection; for he assumes, that it contains not a mere feeble copy of the idea, but by imitation embodies the idea itself, and thus appears an independent and absolute power, which brings its works to light by the same necessity and under the same laws as nature, without being an imitation of nature.

"Nature, as the principle of motion, changes, by what is called the *ἐντελέχεια*, the idea of being into being itself; and the aim of this change is the form which the material puts on. Every species of poetry, every subdivision of the single species of poetry, nay, every single work of art, carries, therefore, in itself its own law, and its inward truth. But the poet's imitation, according to Aristotle, consists in the representation of an idea, or a thing, according to its inward necessity and truth. At the same time there are two kinds of imitation, distinct from each other. In a stricter sense, the poet imitates, when he takes the part of another, that is, when he represents foreign characters and not himself. But when he relates in his own person concerning others, or makes himself the object of poetry, there is no imitation, strictly speaking. So, also, that part of music only is called imitative, which represents on the stage the passion of the player. In a broader sense, however, Aristotle calls poetry and music, in their whole extent, imitative, so far as they aim to set forth the truth of their own indwelling idea. For the delight we take in art springs not from the idea of the beautiful, but partly from the essence of imitation (as every imitator takes pleasure in his own activity, and the impulse to learn and to imitate is implanted in man by nature,) and partly from the truth of the object represented to its own laws, whether it be beautiful or deformed. On this fundamental view, the further developement of the idea of each of

the fine arts, and of their various branches, rests ; and no Greek philosopher has endeavoured to define their nature and essence with so much impartiality, and depth of investigation, as Aristotle." — Vol. I. pp. 53, 54.

The author proceeds to a careful statement and examination of Aristotle's theoretical principles, and does his work in the thorough and *exhaustive* manner, which belongs to German inquirers, by right of birth. This is followed by an account of the Stoic and Epicurean theories, and those of Plutarch and the rhetoricians, and the Introduction is closed by an essay on the classification of poetry.

Dr. Bode introduces his long and detailed discussion of the Orphic age with the following very just observations.

"Among all the nations of the earth, the Greeks had the most brilliant mythical antiquity, out of which the flower of epic poetry sprang as naturally, as afterwards the flower of lyric poetry sprang from the clearly ascertained period of history. When the mythical age passed away, the circle of epic poetry, too, was in itself completed. This finished form has been happily preserved and handed down in the Homeric poems, which must, therefore, have come into existence about the close of the mythical period, and must, at the same time, mark the line where the historical existence of the Greeks begins. The *mythi*, which Homer relates, are not, however, his own invention, but, on the contrary, strike their roots into the historical soil, which has, by no means, been hidden from our sight by the oral traditions, through which they were brought down to after times. Now the formation of *mythi*, wherein real events assume a nobler form, and rise to a higher point of moral dignity, presupposes the actual existence of a great poetical power among the nation ; a power no longer limited to the narrow range of individual feeling and experience, but raised, within certain definite limitations of space, to a broader perception of things in their more general external relations.* The richer and the more finished, therefore, is the mythical history of a nation, the earlier, also, must their poetical activity have

* This is another specimen of a philosophical sentence. The German of the last part is, — "welche nicht mehr auf der untersten Stufe subjectiver Beschränktheit steht, sondern sich bereits zu einer allgemeineren objectiven Erkenntniss in bestimmten räumlichen Verhältnissen erhoben hat." Literally, "which stands no more upon the lowest step of subjective limitation, but has already raised itself to a more general objective cognition in definite relations of space."

been moulded upon the established principle. Unhappily, the first beginnings of poetry, among all original nations, have disappeared at the same time with the earliest unfolding of the mythical age which produced them. The Greeks themselves, at least in the age of historical investigation, had by no means come to a settled conviction, that the Homeric *epos* was the oldest among all the monuments of poetry they had received from former times. What had been composed before Homer, must have gone down amidst the splendor of this epic sun. But, from the long ante-Homeric period, nothing has been preserved, but the memory of a few celebrated names, which are not, however, all mentioned by the oldest poetical records, and which, for this or some other reason, were often the subjects of doubt and uncertainty, even among the ancients. The most conspicuous among these was Orpheus, whom the Greeks, by reason of an ancient tradition, were accustomed to regard as the representative of the mythical age of poetry." — Vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

There is no doubt, that the earliest form, in which the genius of Greece manifested itself, was the poetical; and the earliest poetry was devoted to religious and moral themes. The mythologies, theogonies, and cosmogonies of the ancient world were arranged and embellished by the poets. Indeed, the higher we ascend into the regions of antiquity, the closer is the connexion between poetry and every subject of human thought. Philosophy uttered her earliest precepts and laws in poetical numbers. The poets were the first to invent and describe the forms of the gods and heroes. Phidias borrowed his conception of the Olympian Jupiter, from the noble description of Homer; and, again, the tragic and lyric poets transferred to their works the painted and sculptured deities, with which every Grecian city was peopled. The names only, as Dr. Bode observes, of some of the oldest religious poets, such as Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Pamphus, and Olen, have been preserved. These poets sustained the threefold character of singers, priests, and prophets. Ministers of religion, they composed the hymns and prayers which were chanted in the sacred ceremonies; and the people regarded them as the friends and favorites of the gods, from whom they were supposed to have received a knowledge of futurity. The names of these poets, and all the traditions concerning them, point to a northern source, whence all the streams of religion and poetry flowed. Olym-

pus, Helicon, Parnassus, and Pindus were the ancient seats of their primeval culture. It is truly remarked, by a late learned writer ;

“ In Thessaly and Bœotia, afterwards so barren in men of genius, there is not a spring, a river, a hill, or a forest, with which poetry has not associated some delightful recollection. There flowed the Peneus ; there was the vale of Tempe ; in Thessaly, Apollo, banished from heaven, lived as a shepherd amidst a happy people ; there the Titans warred against the gods. In a word, poetry, with which the civilization of Greece commenced, came to her from the North, and to Thessaly may be applied the fine verses of an English poet.

“ A different sort
From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
Down to the plain descended ; by their guise
Just men they seemed, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works,
Not hid, nor those things lost, which might preserve
Freedom and peace to man.” *

But very few facts are known of any of these poets. Linus of Chalcis was represented as the son of Apo'lo, and one of the Muses. His memory was honored with a festival at Thebes ; but his works have wholly perished, unless we admit the genuineness of a few lines, ascribed to him by Stobæus, on the celebrated proposition of the Eleatic philosophers ; *Ἐκ παντός δὲ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἐκ πάντων πᾶν ἐστι*. “ From the whole are all things sprung, and from all things the whole ; ” a proposition worthy of the genius of the profoundest among certain philosophers of the present day. Pamphus of Athens was said to be the disciple of Linus, and to have composed hymns for the hereditary priesthood of Eleusis ; those in honor of Love, the Graces, and Neptune, are particularly mentioned. Olen, commonly designated as the Hyperborean, led a priestly colony from the North, which settled in the island of Delos, where he introduced the worship of Apollo, and celebrated in songs the birth of the god. His poems were publicly chanted, accompanied by solemn processions and dances. Olympus of Mysia was the inventor of the *nome*, a species of music for the flute. Eumolpus, a Thracian, established the Eleusinian mysteries, and

* Schoell, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*. Tom. I. pp. 30, 31.

from him the Eleusinian priests derived the name of Eumolpidæ. Melampus was at once a poet, musician, prophet, and physician. He is said to have introduced the worship of Bacchus from Thebes to Argolis. Philammon, of Delphi, first established the chorusses of maidens, who belonged to the temple of Apollo. Thamyris, his son, is mentioned in the Iliad, and is celebrated for having challenged the Muses to a poetical combat. But, as has already been stated, the most renowned of all these poets, was Orpheus, who seems to have been the author of a system of mysterious rites, the aim of which was to soften the rude manners of the people, and to carry forward the rising civilization of Greece, by the means of poetry, music, and religion. These rites were secret, and were preceded by formal ceremonies of initiation. The history of Orpheus is interwoven with such a tissue of fable, that the most ingenious antiquary finds it impossible to disentangle the truth, and his very existence has been doubted by many. His poetry is supposed to have related to the mysteries of this secret society, and its real purport and bearing were expounded only to the initiated. The mystery, in which this poetry was shrouded, naturally led to such alterations and corruptions, that nothing of unquestionable genuineness remained, even in the times of Plato and Aristotle. The works attributed to these poets bore the names of Cosmogonies, Oracles, Initiations, Purifications, Expiations, Hymns, Remedies of Disease, and Onomastics, or books of the names of the gods. Orpheus is supposed to have been born in Thrace, about the fourteenth century before the Christian era. He is mentioned as having taken part in the Argonautic expedition, which he celebrated; and he is supposed to have applied the various knowledge, acquired by travel and study, to the improvement of religious doctrine, and the purification of life and manners. Among other things, the invention of the lyre is ascribed to him; and its wondrous powers, when touched by his hand, are a familiar subject of poetical and classical allusion. He is said to have abolished the bloody rite of human sacrifices, and to have instituted a mode of expiation, which put an end to the disastrous hereditary feuds, which had hitherto prevailed. The works, ascribed to Orpheus, under the abovementioned titles, though adulterated at

a very early period, expressed, perhaps, the substance of his religious doctrines ; but the poems, which now exist under his name, have long been proved, both by external and internal evidence, to be forgeries, of a much later date ; and it is doubtful whether they contain the slightest reflection of his poetry or opinions.

But, whatever doubt may attach to every individual fact, recorded of those Northern bards, enough remains to show, that the earliest culture of the Greek nation sprang from the regions of the North. We may amuse our imaginations, by endeavouring to draw a distinct picture of those dim, shadowy times ; but it will be a mere fancy picture, if we attempt to pass beyond the faintest general view. Dr. Bode has gone into the subject with infinite zeal, and applied all the apparatus of his learning to its elucidation ; but, though his speculations are ingenious, and some of them very interesting, we feel compelled to say, that they occupy a space wholly out of proportion to their comparative importance. Historical and literary inquiries, with so few well-ascertained facts to proceed upon, however ably conducted, are mere tissues of gossamer, which the first breath of skepticism sweeps away.

But the case is entirely changed, when we come down to the heroic age. The inimitable delineations, contained in the Homeric poetry, present us a most lively picture of those simple, but by no means uncultivated times. A variety of natural, but peculiar, circumstances contributed to make that poetry the clearest possible mirror of the feelings and spirit, the manners, customs, and political institutions of the heroic age. We have only to look into this mirror, to see that age brought up before our eyes with all the distinctness of living reality. Dr. Bode traces out the relations it bore to the preceding period ; he investigates the circles of legends, traditions, and historical facts ; examines the state of domestic life, and points out the influence of that distinguishing and most honorable characteristic of the Greek heroic age, the respect that was paid to women, and the sacredness of the marriage relation ; he shows the condition of slaves, and investigates the knowledge of the sciences and arts, that had already been gained. He then proceeds to investigate the ideas of the gods, and to trace their progress, from their earliest conception, to the order and system first introduced by the poets.

The state, rank, character, and powers of the singers are also investigated; and, upon all these topics of the discussion, we cannot help applauding the learning and ingenuity of our author. The legendary cycle of the war of Troy next occupies his attention; and the origin, character, growth, and preservation of the Homeric poetry, are treated in a comprehensive view and with minuteness of detail. The following passage will show, that Dr. Bode takes strong ground against the theory of Wolf, which, by the way, seems to be losing credit among the German scholars generally.

“There is another more important question, which was first raised in modern times, and has been argued with great zeal. It turns principally upon what was the oldest form of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We know certainly, that they were not, at least before the Alexandrian age, divided into two series of twenty-four cantos each. This investigation has a very close connexion with the idea of the *Epopœia*, which the philosophers and critics of art, since Aristotle, have constructed or analyzed, constantly comparing it with the completed tragedy. But how old the denomination of the *Iliad* is, is unknown. The earlier writers, particularly the poets, who allude to the Homeric poems, cite only the name of the author, without mentioning the title of the work. Thus Simonides, and Pindar, and perhaps even Hesiod. The title of the *Iliad* occurs first in Herodotus. In the later statements of the introduction of Homer into Greece proper, mention is made only of the Homeric poetry in general. The name of the *Odyssey*, which also first occurs in Herodotus, and then particularly in the writers after the age of the Attic orators, is better chosen, and certainly is older and more correct, than that of the *Iliad*, which neither the *procœmium*, nor the idea of the entire *epos*, can justify.

“The *procœmium* announces the wrath of Achilles, as the subject-matter of the whole; and the twenty-four cantos, as they now lie before us, easily adapt themselves to a unity which corresponds perfectly to this first announcement, and to the plan. It is true, that many portions may be taken away, without breaking up the connexion of the whole. The Alexandrian critics were unable to perceive the necessity of the tenth book, which bears the name of *Doloneia*, and, on this account, excluded it from the original *Iliad*, as an unessential addition. Hence, a more recent opinion, after separating this book, supposes that there are three parts of the *Iliad*, each of which

may be considered as a whole by itself, and as standing only in an external connexion with the other two. According to this, the wrath of Achilles forms the subject only of the first nine books, which rest on the basis of an ancient hymn to Apollo, embracing about the first four hundred lines of the first book. The nine books, following the tenth, according to this view, set forth the gradual reconciliation of the angry hero, and the last five, it is said, exalt Achilles, now reconciled, by the glory of victory. Now, if we assume, that the words, 'Sing, O Goddess, the wrath,' was a favorite introductory formula of the most ancient epic bards, by which the whole was merely heralded in, but which was not designed to express the fundamental thought, then we cannot possibly look for the idea of the whole *Iliad* in the wrath of Achilles. But still we must adhere to the wrath of Achilles as the leading subject, or as constituting the poetic unity of the whole epic. We must consider its delineation as the gradual progress of the original idea, according to the three abovementioned springs of action, which already existed in the original plan of Homer; for, in the first book, Achilles expresses the wish, that Jupiter may grant aid to the Trojans and the glory of victory, and turn the Greeks to flight, that Agamemnon may perceive his wrong. Thetis also utters the same wish to Jupiter, but with the express addition, that she 'may see her son honored, and exalted with honor.' The latter is promised by Jupiter, and the action is now extended over the fifteenth book, where we find a spring of action that accounts satisfactorily for all the rest. When Achilles declares, furthermore, that he will take no part in the conflict, until Hector shall threaten the ships of the Myrmidons with fire, and shall venture to attack him in his own tent (which, however, he considers impossible, and seems to treat with scorn), the progress of the action to the sixteenth book, where Hector actually hurls fire among the ships, is made out as necessarily as any portion of the first part of the *Iliad*. Nay, we find in the second part, both a reference to the promises, which Jupiter had given to Thetis in the first canto, namely, to honor Achilles, and also hints that point to the end of the *Iliad*; so that a general connexion of the three above parts may be made out with no great difficulty, and it is impossible, that three different poets should have been their authors." — Vol. i. pp. 295–298.

The author follows out this train of thought still further, and arrives at this conclusion;

"The same poet, who, in the first book, represented the sublime image of the king of the gods making the heights of

Olympus tremble by his nod, when he pledged his promise to Thetis, embracing his knees in supplication, already had the conclusion of the *epos* in his eye, where Achilles, distracted with sorrow and the passion for revenge, though Jupiter has granted him the promised honor and satisfaction, sees the supplicating Priam before him in the dust. What there is between these two points, embraces the achievements of the Grecian and Trojan heroes, while Achilles indulges his wrath, in inactive repose, among the ships, until he is finally roused to vengeance by the death of his friend. The greatest deed, which Achilles performed in the Trojan war, was, according to the legend, the victory over Hector ; and this the poet very properly made the end of his poetical effort, although, elsewhere, he introduces the hero whom he wished to celebrate, as inactive, and therefore could not call the poem by his name." — Vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

Dr. Bode admits the extreme probability, that, in the course of ages, and under the hands of innumerable editors, collectors, and copyists, a great deal of foreign matter was foisted into the genuine songs of Homer, and that the recitation of the Homeric poetry, by so many rhapsodists, may have introduced important modifications and additions ; but he maintains, that, whatever additions may have been made from the works of other bards, and however much its original plan may have been enlarged, under the hands of the *Homericidæ* and the *Rhapsodists*, in the course of time, still its original and essential unity remained uninjured ; and these remarks apply, with still greater force, to the *Odyssey*. We do not fully coincide with these conclusions. We do not think the preconceived unity of the *Iliad* especially, can be established. But to unfold, fully, our views upon this point, would carry us far beyond the limits of the present paper. We must, however, admit, that Dr. Bode has made out a very strong case.

The remainder of the volume is taken up with the *epic cyclus*, and a statement of all that has been handed down to us concerning every branch of epic poetry, including the works of Hesiod. The discussion of these matters is exceedingly full and satisfactory.

The second volume, the first part of which only has reached us, contains the history of lyric poetry. But the space we have already occupied, forbids our doing more,

than indicating, in a general way, the manner in which Dr. Bode has handled this part of his subject. He first considers the nature and the age of lyric poetry, which he traces back to the ante-Homeric period. He illustrates the history of the Pæan, its application to the worship of Apollo, and describes the musical accompaniments. From this, he proceeds to take up, one after another, the successive species of lyric poetry, the different kinds of music which were appropriated to them, the occasions on which they were composed and recited, along with very ably drawn sketches of the lives, characters, and poetical value of the several inventors and authors. The discussions, in this part, conclude with some exceedingly curious details upon the musical principles of the Greeks. But this is a subject too large and difficult to be undertaken at the end of an article. When the other volumes arrive, we may, perhaps, resume our remarks, and consider the peculiarities of Greek lyric poetry at some length.

ART. VIII. — *The Poetical Works of THOMAS CAMPBELL.*
A New Edition. London. 1836.

Too much, we think, is generally attributed to the influence of the prevailing spirit of the times, in determining the character of poetry. Those, from whose writings that character is inferred, are few in number, and, not unfrequently, in a position as far as possible beyond the reach of such an influence. Take, for example, Burns and Cowper; who have been referred to with the view of showing, that the reforming energy, which manifested itself, near the close of the last century, in politics and various forms of literature, was communicated to poetry by the same deep impulse. It would not be easy to name two individuals, of any literary eminence, who were more removed, by circumstances, from the interests and passions, which swayed the living mass around them. When Burns, in the solitude of his lowly cottage at Mossgiel, was pouring the full tide of song from the depths of his proud and manly heart, he was as much sequestered from the great world and its sympathies, as if

he had dwelt in the loneliest island of the North Sea ; scarcely acquainted even with the names of the poets of his time ; and finding the source of his inspiration in the fountain within him, springing up to immortality. Cowper was driven from the society of men by causes too painful and too familiar to require to be told ; his poetry was the music by which, when the evil spirit was upon him, " he was refreshed, and was well " ; nothing surely was indifferent to him, which might affect the moral welfare of his race ; but the hopes and interests of the world, and even its intellectual progress, were to him of little moment in any other point of view. Going back a hundred years further, we indeed observe the influence of the spirit of the age on Dryden, who prostituted his gigantic strength to make sport for the Philistines at the festival of Dagon. But what trace of it is to be found in the character of Milton ? Well and truly was it said of him, that " his soul was like a star, and dwelt apart." The spirit of his time affected him no more than the gathering mist impairs the lustre of the star, which it hides for a moment from the eye. A mind like his was fitted to guide it, rather than obey.

No doubt there are certain influences, which aid in determining the direction of poetical talent, as they do of every other kind. Milton kept constantly in view the sublime hope, that he might leave something to after times, so written, as that they would not willingly let it die. Whenever he alludes to his immortal work, it is plain, that he looks for no sudden popularity, or early fame. But poetry is now an article of traffic ; and one may fix its value with nearly the same precision, as the current prices of other commodities are stated in the daily newspapers. Instead of appealing to the judgment of posterity, the author of the present day stands before an awful Rhadamanthus, in the person of his publisher. What the prerogatives of such a judge may be, is shown by a circumstance, which Scott relates, in reference to his tale of " *Ivanhoe*." His publisher had taken a fancy to Athelstan, the descendant of Saxon kings, who was untimely slain by the hand of Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert, the Knight Templar, and insisted, that Scott should restore him from this state of " cold obstruction." Scott, who saw plainly enough the absurdity of the suggestion, re-

sisted, for a time, but at last brought back the knight to life, and thus fixed a sad blemish on a work, which had otherwise been almost faultless. In another of his romances, "St. Ronan's Well," the whole character of the story was changed in obedience to another suggestion of the same kind. All this comes from a determination to be popular; of the chance of which, the publisher is admitted to be a better judge than the author; at least, he can determine, with unerring certainty, what he inclines to pay for. It is well understood, that Scott received about as much for every line of one of his poems, as was paid to Milton for each book of his "Paradise Lost." The writer is thus driven, by a temptation which few can resist, to consult the prevailing taste, and to prefer the reward which awaits him here, to that which is reserved for the highest genius hereafter, when his merit will be weighed in the balance of calm, deliberate judgment. So has it been with most of the poets of our time. "As the lightning flashed, they went onward by its light; when it vanished into darkness, they stood still." Wordsworth is, indeed, a striking example to the contrary. He, from the beginning, avowed his persuasion, that the poet has before him the double task of creating the taste by which his works are to be valued, as well as the works themselves; but we shall presently see, that others have been contented to omit the heavier portion of this task. They have acted under the persuasion, that the voice of poetry was too small and still to make itself heard amidst the din of the wheels of industry, and the roar of the trumpets of reform; that novelty alone could attract attention; and that the question for them to solve was, what form of novelty would be most likely to produce the desired effect.

At the same time, we believe, that there is more lamentation over the decline of poetry, than the exigency requires. The tendency, on the part of poets, is, doubtless, in that direction; but the complaint is founded on a supposed indifference to all poetry on the part of readers. This indifference has been commonly ascribed to the progress of physical science, which, as many apprehend, is to obtain an entire monopoly of interest. But the danger, we apprehend, is greatly overrated. The two circumstances do not necessarily stand toward each other in the relation of cause and effect;

though many will hardly believe that it can be otherwise, when they happen to coincide in point of time ; as the people of Norway were out of patience with inoculation, because fish were scarce upon their coasts at the time when it was introduced. We have no fears, that the public attention will be so absorbed, for any length of time, by one pursuit, as to disregard all others. Such, certainly, is not the lesson of experience. Nothing is more common, than to attach an undue importance to the passing event, and the object before us. The complaint, in Johnson's day, was of quite a different sort. Then, "the cook warbled her lyrics in the kitchen, and the thresher vociferated his dithyrambs in the barn." That was a season of fat poetical kine. But there has been no perceptible increase, since his day, in the melody of the one, or the inspiration of the other. One age, or, what is the same thing, man in one age, is much more like man in another, than we are always willing to allow. Great genius, of any kind, is among the most rare of heaven's gifts ; great poetical genius, perhaps, the most rare of all. And it would be quite unreasonable to complain, that blessings, which have been dispensed, in times past, in numbers scarcely equal to that of the centuries, should be lavished in showers upon this generation. We have had our share. As the shades were closing on the last century, there were many stars, of no ordinary promise, going up in the sky ; and it has been given to us to walk in their light. There is no period in English history, of the same length, more fertile in poetical talent, than the last fifty years ; not that the names of Shakspeare and Milton are not far greater than any which this age can show ; but that the diversity and brilliancy of those, who are but a little lower than the angels, have been far more signal than in former time. The present moment of repose may be regarded rather as a dying fall, to be followed by a bolder strain, than as the stillness of death.

We propose to offer a few cursory remarks on some of the principal poets of our time ; and it will readily appear, to what extent they have, perhaps at first unconsciously, availed themselves of the influence of novelty in attracting the general attention. Scott is the most striking illustration of this ; as he was among the first. His "Lay of the Last Minstrel" was written at the suggestion of a lady, and gradually ex-

tended far beyond its original design ; but he appears to have had little expectation of the triumphant welcome with which it was received. The idea was not new, though novel to modern readers. It was rather a revival of the old metrical romance, in which the exploits of the heroes of chivalry were recorded, for the edification of readers of ages long gone by. One would have thought it rather a hazardous experiment to attempt to excite much interest in the exploits of cavaliers, which displayed little more intellect, than the swinging of a blacksmith's hammer, or in those of moss-troopers, whose only appropriate station would have been the gibbet. But Scott's knowledge of the world taught him better. He knew, that the recollections of the old glories of chivalry had a charm, like that of the green that overhangs its ruined fortresses ; and that, empty as it was, and senseless as were its usages, beside that modern civilization was very much its debtor, the world would never be weary of admiring its strange union of the liberal grace of refinement with the sternness of the rudest barbarism. But his true taste divined full well, that he could not reproduce the heroes of Froissart precisely as they were, and he therefore blended their harsher traits with modern sentiments and manners, and thus produced a picture, which, compared with the reality, was like the feudal system, as it appears in "*Ivanhoe*," by the side of the same system, as portrayed by the venerable sages of the law.

The "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*" was a story of little interest in its details ; but, inspired as it was with all the wild and thrilling associations of chivalry, uttered in a measure singularly bold and animated, and fitly imagined to proceed from one of the bards, who seem to make a part of the romantic drama, its cadences fell upon the ear like the triumphant strains of martial music. It would be vain to attempt to describe their effect to those whose memory goes not back so far as the period when the poem was first published. Nobody saw or felt, that the versification was often hurried and ungraceful, almost extemporaneous, and rarely indicative of much revision. The right chord was touched ; and, when all readers were under the shadow of the spell, poetry of a much higher cast would have found neither "*fit audience*," nor even "*few*." "*Marmion*," with its glorious battle

scene, kindled even fiercer enthusiasm. But the charm of novelty was passing by ; and the "Lady of the Lake," one of the most beautiful romantic fictions which ever poet dreamed, found less favor, though more judicious approbation, than the "Lay." In the course of a few years, the tide had fairly turned ; insomuch that the "Lord of the Isles," a hastily wrought, but thrilling tale, founded on one of the most memorable events in Scottish history, and presenting one of the few instances, in which the writer attempted to paint the real heroes of his country, was received either with indifference or faint applause. The poet, with the modesty which forms the unusual grace and ornament of popular talent, believed, that the fiery lustre of Lord Byron's star had diminished the brightness of his own. But it was not so ; the probability is, that, had the order of their appearance been changed, he would have become the idol at the expense of his great rival. But the novelty was gone ; and, with the elastic energy, in which no man ever abounded more, he entered upon another, and even more successful, path of labor ; one, in which he was enabled, free from the shackles of poetical measure, to pour forth the rich results of his study, keen observation, and knowledge of mankind, in a series of romances, which will be remembered long after all his critics shall have been forgotten. No doubt these are poems as truly as the metrical ones. But the form was one, which gave him the full command of his powers. With a perception of character, hardly inferior to that of Shakspeare, he could not, like him, fix it upon the canvass with a single touch of his pencil. But his sketches, though more slowly wrought, were nearly as lifelike and real.

The impression, made by these romances, was, in the first instance, in no degree inferior to that of the metrical ones, and it was much more durable in its character. If they excited attention by their novelty, they secured it by some higher qualities. If they have now given place to other forms of the novel, the world is certainly no gainer by the exchange. Inferior minds have naturally resorted to inferior means to gain the public ear ; and, be the objections to the historical romances what they may, the cause of virtue will gain little by the substitution of what has followed them, from the swaggering dandyism of the Pelham school, down to

the loathsome abominations of "Jack Shephard." Such things attract attention, doubtless ; and the dramatist, who should build a gibbet on the stage, an appropriate implement, by the way, for the use of many modern fashionable heroes, would be sure to find an audience ; not from any talent displayed in the achievement, but from the unusual character of the exhibition.

In some respects, it was with Lord Byron as it had been with Scott. At first he appears to have mistaken his powers ; he had set his heart upon excelling in satire, and regarded "Childe Harold," the foundation of his fame, as the mere amusement of an idle hour. But satire certainly was never meant for him ; he was too obedient to passion to preserve even a decent show of justice towards the objects of his wrath. Compare, for example, his "English Bards" with Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," and it will be readily seen what a keen and fatal edge is given to satire by allowing the merit of its object, and thus presenting the evil qualities in revolting shade. When "Childe Harold" appeared, this delusion passed for the time away ; for its high poetical beauty, aided in some degree, no doubt, by its author's exalted rank, made it at once a favorite with all readers. From the moment that he caught the gale, he spread his sail to welcome it, with consummate skill. The man of mystery, half concealed, like Æneas, in a cloud whose edges were bright with the glitter of rank and fashion, moving among men as if he were not of them, partly from a jealous shyness and partly from a sad contrast between his personal circumstances and his social position, became an object of deep and almost painful interest. Nor was this unnatural ; with powers that might have raised him to the highest place in any way of life he had chosen to pursue, he had within him all the elements of a noble character ; but all, all were darkened by circumstances, that fill the mind less with indignation than with sorrow. His father was eminently distinguished as a worthless libertine, in an age when such distinction was any thing but rare ; his parents lived apart, and he was early consigned to the exclusive charge of his mother, a woman of little sense and tempestuous passions, who would occasionally reproach and ridicule her son in consequence of that personal deformity, the consciousness of which was torture to him till his latest hour. Under such circumstances,

the only wonder is, that his intellect and his heart did not become equally desolate. The heart perished, but the intellect survived. In the one, kind affections flashed occasionally forth, like the warm sunbeam through the gloom of a November day ; but fixed principles of character there were absolutely none ; all that he thought or did was the result of impulse. In the other, there was nobleness enough to call forth in us deep and lasting sadness, that "the inward prompting, which grew daily upon him," should have been so unlike those by which Milton consecrated himself to his high and holy task.

All this, however, gave powerful aid to the effect of his poetry ; nor is it unjust to him to believe, that he was not reluctant to find the public eye fixed upon himself as well as on his works. Both were sufficiently out of the common track to attract immediate attention. A young nobleman, eminently distinguished for his personal beauty, flies from the brilliant circles that burn to welcome him, wraps himself in mysterious reserve, and becomes the victim of melancholy. When all appears bright and joyous to the common eye, his personal history and dark thoughts are shadowed forth in the wild and unearthly music of his poetry. He wanders in regions inspired by chivalrous and classical associations. Now, he stands in the Eternal City, and the shades of orators, poets, and heroes, start from her ruined arches ; his foot is on the soil of Greece, and all the loveliness and glory of that treasury of literary fame are warmed into life before him ; once more upon the waters, and deep calleth unto deep ; and again he turns to the battle-field, where are gathered the buried martyrs of ambition ; and the earthquake of its artillery would hardly stir the soul, like his unveiling of its dark and bloody record.

The great Mokanna dies ; his silver veil drops from his brow ; the mysteries of his seclusion, alas ! no holy ones, are revealed ; the friends who shared his table sell the results of his misplaced confidence before he is cold in his grave. Then the romantic interest attached to his person perishes, and he stands at the literary bar, shielded only by the majesty of his commanding talent. But the perversion of his genius is scarcely inferior to that of his moral powers ; and, with an infirmity like that which vice draws after it, he is perpetually pursuing the same course which he perpetually denounces and condemns. His own poetical system, and those of most

of his contemporaries, he has often described as revolutionary ones, and has predicted their rapid decline. Doubtless they are so, as respects their adaptation to strike and dazzle, rather than to win permanent fame; but there are few who have acknowledged the fact to themselves, and endeavoured to impress it on others, with the freedom and energy of Lord Byron. In fact, his letters present in this point of light a singular contrast to the course attributed to another; his conduct being still wrong and his argument right. How long his writings will survive, must be left for other ages to determine; but if we might without presumption hazard a conjecture as to their relative chances of immortality, it would be that the smaller ones will outlast those which have given greater glory to his name.

These are the two high-priests, whose oracles may be regarded as the example and the guide of others; nor would it be difficult, by a brief review of the works of some of these, to show that the same effort to attract attention by novelty has been often made, with various degrees of power and success. But it is our desire to speak more particularly of one or two, in reference to whom such a charge is less applicable.

Byron, in his enumeration of those who are proceeding upon what he calls the revolutionary system, has included Campbell, upon what grounds, we do not precisely see; for, except in the instance of "Theodric," which fell so silently from the press that it is hardly remembered, his course has been very much at variance with what we have described as the modern one. After a long interval of repose, perceiving the race of popularity which others were running, whose claims could hardly be considered superior to his, he appears to have become possessed with the desire of trying the experiment of a style, as unlike his natural one, as the habiliments of a modern exquisite are unlike the dress suited to a grave gentleman, "by 'r Lady, inclining to threescore." The style was rough and jaunty, with an infusion of the swagger; but it satisfied the reader as little as it became the author; and cannot fairly be taken into the account in an estimate of his poetical merits. The "Pleasures of Hope," if not his best poem, certainly his most popular one, was published when he had scarcely reached the age of manhood; and yet very few,

written in the full maturity of genius, have made a deeper or more abiding impression. No better evidence could be given of the strength of the impression made by any work, than the facility and frequency with which it is quoted ; and, considered in reference to this standard, we can scarcely point to the poem which has taken stronger hold of the general mind. Its forms of expression are household words ; the traveller in South America involuntarily speaks of Andes, as the “ giant of the western star ;” and the aspirations of faith are not unfrequently clothed in the beautiful language of this remarkable poem. The age of the author, if it may not be admitted in the way of palliation of any alleged defects, is at least sufficient to explain them. Let any man look round upon the circle of his acquaintance, and see what the most intelligent would be likely to produce at the age of twenty-one, and he will surely cease to wonder at its imperfections. Perhaps those very imperfections have had the effect of increasing its popularity. The writer, a young man just leaving college, brought up in the ordinary seclusion of such institutions, where he is apt to become much more familiar with the men of ages past, than with mankind and nature as they are now, and sees every thing through the medium of colored glass, describes the visions of hope as they spring up in a mind, so taught and disciplined. He could not have done otherwise ; and, when compelled to go beyond the sphere of his observation, and describe men as they feel and act under circumstances new to him, he is sure to overstep the modesty of nature. When we object to such a work that it is a juvenile one, the objection amounts to no more than this, that the dreams of his hope are not like those of older men.

Indeed, the prevailing defects of this poem appear to us to be such as naturally spring from the inexperience of the writer. Occasionally, he is called upon to describe scenes unknown to him, and feelings with which he could not be familiar ; and here his views are derived from books, and want the reality and vividness of nature. He bids the youth go forth, in the enthusiasm of youthful hope, not to the stern discipline of life, to wrestle with temptation, to subdue the rebellious powers of evil, but to rest in the calm retreats of science, to follow the footsteps of the philosopher through regions above earth, to visit the walks of wisdom where the “ sacred Nine

are nigh." This is not the language of those who have acted and suffered in the world ; still, it is the natural expression of the feeling of one, who has been reposing in the classical shades of the university. And this, to us, gives a charm to the work, which nothing else could give so well. His visions are bright with the hues of youth, and as undefined and changing as the kindling clouds, that gather in the morning twilight round the throne of the rising sun. To those, the shadows of whose dial are shortened into noon, the gorgeousness has vanished ; but, though they feel them no longer, they have felt them once ; and may regard the enthusiastic description of them, as the old, in Goldsmith's " Village," survey the sports of the young beneath the spreading tree. The theme is appropriate to the poet. The young man cannot describe, because he cannot know, the feelings, the interests, and the thoughts of age ; while, on the other hand, the hopes of age have lost their lustre, and are subdued and still. The sentiment of memory, in all ages, is essentially the same ; even the young man, whose May of life has not yet fallen into the sear and yellow leaf, looks back, like Obidah, with thoughtful sadness on the path he has already traversed, as if it led from a brighter region than any towards which his footsteps tend ; and the aged know that it is too surely so. But it is far otherwise with hope ; the earthly hope of youth is as unlike that of age, as the elastic frame of opening manhood to the palsied and wasting form that trembles over the grave. Yet there are hopes, that come alike to all ; the anticipations of an immortal life ; and here it is that the poet throws aside the character of youth, and treats his grand and overwhelming subject with the fulness of his power.

It may be admitted, that the writings of Campbell betray little evidence of the knowledge of individual character, or interest in it as an object of study. He is never borne away by passion, but is calm, contemplative, and thoughtful, except when roused to strong emotion by the trumpet-call of freedom. In this way, he may fail to gratify those who love to deal with that which " the blood most stirs " ; which excites and startles, rather than pleases ; but with the great majority of readers, who love the sunshine better than the storm, this quality is not likely to impair his influence. In " Gertrude of Wyoming " the story is abruptly and not dis-

tinctly told ; the images are those of pastoral life, without much care for the truth of scenery or manners ; nor are the characters produced with any remarkable power. But the quiet retreat of simplicity and peace, made desolate by the most relentless of all foes, presents a contrast, which, when clothed in his rich and melodious versification, touches every heart. We have heard the opinion sometimes expressed, that his lyrical productions are wanting in fire, and awaken nothing of the feeling without inspiring which such poetry is nothing. Unquestionably they are the result of much labor, and finished with the most scrupulous care ; but it is not easy to see how the charge of coldness can be brought against "Ye Mariners of England," or the "Battle of the Baltic" ; except by those, with whom national glory is but an empty name. They certainly stir the spirit, as with the sound of a trumpet ; and we believe that they will animate the sailor's heart, so long as the meteor flag of England shall burn upon the deep.

We are far from pretending that Campbell can be regarded as among the greatest of the masters of the lyre ; but there are many elevated stations on Parnassus, beneath the level of the summit on which Shakspeare and Milton are enthroned. Posterity may have a welcome to extend to the prophet, as well as to the king. We cannot entertain a doubt, that he will survive many, whose popularity in their day has gone far beyond his. He was probably capable of greater things than any he has yet accomplished. It was the remark of Scott, that he was frightened by the shadow of his own fame ; but this could hardly happen except to a genius naturally timid, and reluctant to incur the hazard of a bolder flight. Such fastidiousness is not unfrequently the companion and the curse of exalted powers ; it seems, like *mauvaise honte* in social life, to bind the faculties as with a spell, and to convert the living into stone. This infirmity has undoubtedly withheld Campbell from efforts, which would have given new lustre to his name. But he has the great merit, in which some of his contemporaries have been sadly wanting, of revising without scruple, and blotting without reluctance ; and has deemed it no mark of inspiration or of wisdom to pour out his effusions like an Italian improvisatore, till the press almost pants in the effort to keep pace with him. His descriptive power is in-

ferior to that of Scott ; he has little of the passionate energy, nothing of the sublime egotism, of Byron ; little of the magic imagination of Southey ; but he has the best poetical qualities, mingled in just proportions ; in beauty of illustration, in the power of producing effect without extravagance, in the mechanism of his art, he yields to none of these. His animation is without vehemence, his feeling without frenzy, his melody without harshness. The young will continue to worship Byron, the old may give the preference to Wordsworth ; but the general reader, who asks neither consuming passion nor profound philosophy, will probably fix his affections on Campbell, as one who uniformly pleases, without ever aiming to startle or astonish.

“ Out, hyperbolical fiend ! how vexest thou this man ! talkest thou nothing but of ladies ? ” Some Sir Topas of twenty-five years ago might have thus as fitly exorcized the demon that possessed Moore, as he of the “ Twelfth Night ” did the one that troubled Malvolio. This distinguished writer, who still lives in the fancy of many as gifted with immortal youth, has probably reached the solemn portion of life’s journey, that lies somewhere between threescore and its less frequently allotted ten ; yet it is by no means unusual to hear him spoken of, as if, like Falstaff, he were still in “ the va’ward of manhood. ” When he was a very young man, he visited this country, and found its democracy so little to his taste, that he made it the subject of bitter satire ; but the ramshorn was not sufficiently sonorous for the Jericho, and our frame of government has fortunately survived the shock. On his return to his own country, he constituted himself the laureat of Bacchus and of Love ; became the oracle of young ladies, especially those of the boarding-school, who were charmed to find their sentimental passions, “ the bloom of young desire, and purple light of love, ” embodied in flowery and harmonious verse. If the truth must be told, his conduct in this respect was equally insidious and base ; and it tells ill for the moral feeling of the day, that the same sentiments which, clothed in plain terms, would have been simply revolting, came like delightful music on the ear in his graceful song. There are no terms of condemnation too severe to mark the prostitution of the divinest of arts to the foulest of purposes. Happily time, the great corrector of abuses, has a remedy for this, as for all

other evil ; the words, which flow winningly from the lips of youth, are ludicrous when mumbled by the toothless gentleman of sixty-five. Those who write for the centre-table must expect to be shortly out of fashion ; and to present themselves to the next generation like a hooped, cushioned, high-heeled beauty of the last century, rustling and creaking in a modern ball-room. Had Moore done always thus, he must have been regarded merely as one, who pelted gracefully with sugar-plums at the carnival ; as a writer of considerable powers, but low and vulgar tastes ; for it is not in the power of rank and fashion, whatever currency they may for the moment give to glittering and brocaded sensuality, so to construct the mask as long to hide its coarse features from the common eye. The poet, who limits his ambition to the applauses of Almack's, will soon find that "the lights are fled, the garlands dead" ; and, if he be a man of genius, of the highest poetical genius he can hardly be, will meet the sad retribution which invariably follows the abuse of exalted powers.

Any strong and not unworthy feeling, like the dramatic pity and terror, purifies the heart. There was a subject on which Moore felt deeply, and felt like a man. This subject was the wrongs of his country. For, whatever may be our impression of the demands of policy or necessity, one can hardly glance over the dreary waste of Irish history, without seeing that if England has been just, her justice has been slightly tempered with mercy ; for the Eternal City, in the flush of her proudest march of victory, rarely dealt with her subjected provinces as England has done with her sister isle. At least, it is certain that the elements of modern civilization sprung up in the bloody track of Rome's chariot wheels ; while Ireland has little cause of gratitude for aught that has been done by her conquerors to improve and elevate her. Even were this otherwise, there is enough in her present as there has been in her past condition, to make us cease to wonder at the intensity of feeling, with which her sons regard the condition of a land, abounding in all that nature or genius can bestow to make it great and prosperous. It was a fortunate suggestion, that induced Moore to adapt new songs to the old and favorite Irish airs, which have a charm for every ear, that has not been disciplined to stand the fire of a modern orches-

tra ; and it was fortunate too, that he availed himself of the occasion to express his natural and patriotic feeling. This feeling pervades them all, and seems to change the whole character of the poet and of the man. Something of the old leaven remains, but the Melodies that reveal it are the worst of the collection ; while those in which he puts by the faded graces in which he had been used to flourish, are rich in truth and beauty, and occasional loftiness of inspiration. A striking effect is produced in some of them by covering the sword with myrtle, like the patriots of old ; as, for example, in the singularly beautiful song, " When he who has loved thee," which appears to express merely the invocation of a dying lover, while it becomes far more touching and impressive, when regarded as the last address of the martyr of freedom to his country. There are other instances of this, which will readily occur to those who are familiar with the " Irish Melodies."

We need say little of " Lalla Rookh," because its prominent beauty is of the same kind with that to which we have just adverted, and its defects are of the same character with those of his earlier poems, though far from being disfigured by the same grossness. There is no great beauty in the thread on which its pearls are strung ; these are composed of a series of tales, which attract no very intense interest until we come to " The Fire-worshippers " ; then, his foot is on the soil of freedom, conceit and glitter are forgotten in the glow of patriotic enthusiasm, and the heart goes with the martyr of liberty through his race of disaster and sorrow, till he climbs the blazing altar. Moore's mastery over the language is perfect ; he seems to possess a magic spell for converting every thing he touches into melody ; in following his sweet and flexible versification, one almost ceases to care what thought it expresses, or whether it conveys any thought at all ; and it must be admitted, that in his Oriental descriptions his inclination for display and brilliancy is sufficiently at home. But this inclination cannot be long indulged, except at the expense of manliness. Genius is always in earnest ; it does not disdain the aid of ornament, but disdains to make it other than an aid. The glory of Prometheus was not to decorate the senseless clay ; but to kindle the immortal fire within it ; to " create a soul under the ribs of death." Perhaps the secret of Moore's defects is his ambition to make himself the idol of society.

Whoever estimates himself by the standard of fashionable praise holds his fame by the most precarious of all tenures. If Milton had aimed merely to catch the applauses of a court, and that the court of Charles the Second, what a blight would have been brought upon a genius, created by Providence for all time and all nations. Scott had acquired a monopoly of favor before "*Gertrude of Wyoming*" appeared; and Moore's "*Lalla Rookh*" was published while Byron was lord of the ascendant. Neither of these gained, nor did the authors probably expect them to gain, any remarkable popularity, as success was in those days founded on other qualities than such as they displayed; and the character of poetry was but another name for the peculiar traits of that of Scott and Byron. Their march was so triumphant, that it overwhelmed most other candidates for fame; though the inexhaustible fertility of Southey, and the calm confidence of Wordsworth, were not to be repressed by any adverse circumstances. In general, they were driven from poetry to other objects of pursuit; even Southey paused awhile in his epic career, to pour out a flood of histories, books of the church, biographies, and reviews. Campbell quietly retreated to the lecture-room and the editor's chair; and Moore employed himself in building the tombs of the prophets, whose living oracles he had most held in reverence.

But we must not forget, that our subject is more inexhaustible than the patience of the reader. What the character of English poetry will be in time to come, presents a most interesting subject of inquiry; but it would be as vain, we fear, to decide on it with certainty, as to predict the form and colors of the next year's clouds. Now that the fashion of excitement has for the moment passed away, and the field is again undisputed and open to the adventurer, it is not unreasonable to indulge the hope, that the east will soon redden with the promise of a purer, if not a brighter dawn, than that of the times which are gone by; not perhaps in the character of the intellect it shall call forth, but in that of the objects to which poetry shall be devoted. Is not the promise of its coming to be seen in the majesty with which even Byron, reckless and poor in moral elevation as he is, urges his crushing chariot wheels over the delusive glories of battle; in the calm inspiration with which Wordsworth finds the beautiful and true

in the pure affections of lowly hearts, and traces the footsteps of his God amidst the grandeur of his mountain solitudes ; in the thrilling strains, with which Southey celebrates the regeneration of the soul, and the victory of innocence and faith over the spells of dark enchanters ? The hour, we trust, is not far distant, when the spirit of the age shall be but another name for moral and spiritual advancement ; when the real glory of humanity shall no more be looked for in shame and blood, or in the tournaments and dungeon-keeps of barbarism. The beautiful spirit of poetry, "from heaven which came, to heaven returns" when her vestments are soiled by the grossness of mortality. Nor will the sphere of her dominion be diminished, as it grows more pure. She may unveil the depths and power of the affections ; accompany the philanthropist on his voyage of charity ; light the lamp of love, and kindle the altar-fire of devotion ; go up with the martyr to the mount of sacrifice ; and like the angels, when

" With solemn adoration down they cast,
Their crowns, inwove with amaranth and gold,"

consecrate herself and all her powers to Him, from whom the springs of real inspiration flow.

But how, and by what manner of man, is such a work to be accomplished ? Hear the answer in the words of one of the noblest of the sons of men. "An inward prompting grew daily upon me, that, by labor and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined to the strong propensity of nature, I might, perhaps, leave something, so written, to after times, as that they should not willingly let it die." Such was the divine vision, that burst upon the eye of the true prophet. Thus did he lift up his soul to the contemplation of the mighty task, which Providence had called him to perform. "The accomplishment of these intentions lies not but in a power above man's to promise ; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, so far as life and free leisure shall extend. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that some few years yet I may go in trust with him toward the payment of that, for which I am now indebted ; as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapors of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame

Memory and her Siren daughters ; but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with fire from his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases." Let him, who would bind his brow with the amaranth that shades the fount of life, study at the feet of this great master. His home was left desolate ; the standard of freedom, long upborne by his strong hand, lay rent and trampled in the dust. He was poor, blind, and forsaken. But he counted all this as nothing. He "bated not a jot of heart or hope." The celestial light irradiated his mind through all her powers. To the eye of man, his course was finished, and his purposes were broken off. Yet, in the fulness of time, the glorious vision of his youth and manhood was made permanent ; the mortal put on immortality.

ART. IX. — 1. *The School Library*. Published under the Sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts. Boston : Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 1839.

- (1.) *Introductory Essay to the School Library*. IRVING'S *Life and Voyages of Columbus, with the Author's Visit to Palos, and a Portrait, Map, and other Illustrations*. 12mo. pp. xlviii., 325.
- (2.) PALEY'S *Natural Theology, with Selections from the Illustrative Notes, and the Preliminary Dissertations of SIR CHARLES BELL, and LORD BROUGHAM, the whole newly arranged and edited by ELISHA BARTLETT, M. D.* With numerous Wood Cuts, and a Life and Portrait of the Author. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 365, 454.
- (3.) *Lives of Eminent Individuals, celebrated in American History*. 3 vols. 12mo. pp. xii., 364 ; xii., 380 ; vii., 399.
- (4.) *Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons*, by the Rev. HENRY DUNCAN, D. D. ; adapted to American Readers, by the Rev. F. W. P. GREENWOOD, D. D. 4 vols. 12mo. pp. xvi., 389, 391, 401, 416.

2. *The School Library, Juvenile Series.*

- (1.) *Pictures of Early Life ; or Sketches of Youth.* By Mrs. EMMA C. EMBURY. 12mo. pp. 310.
- (2.) *Selections from the Writings of Miss JANE TAYLOR,* by Mrs. S. J. HALE. 12mo. pp. 288.

OUR age has often been qualified with the epithet of *labor-saving*, though it would be hard to say, with how much justice, when, of slaves, both bond and free, there were never so many millions of the human race, as now, bound down to a life of mere drudgery ; when men are everywhere trained to work in gangs, by fifties and by hundreds ; when every man, instead of being the master, makes himself the slave of his profession ; when all head-work is held in light esteem, except so far as it enters into partnership with handicraft ; and when manual-labor schools, furnished with work-benches and ploughs, are established all over the country as the best nurseries for genius, taste, and eloquence. We have fallen upon an age of toil, of hard and grovelling toil, helped indeed by mechanical inventions innumerable, but by inventions which only take the laborer from the solitude of his field, or the quiet of his home, where he could exercise his own ingenuity and forecast, and make him the unreflecting tender of a machine, amidst the blaze of furnaces, the puffing of steam, or the din of a thousand spindles. The fact is, that men work more and harder for every labor-saving invention ; for the demand for every article of manufacture outspeeds, in a manifold ratio, the increasing ease of supply.

But in the various departments of intellect, the economical tendencies of the age have been far more successful. There exists, in the most active operation throughout the civilized world, a vast system of thought-saving machinery. This is, indeed, a knowing, but not a thinking age. Knowledge is substituted for thought ; loads of food, for the power of healthy digestion. Book-learning, and learning by rote, are supplanting self-communion. The mind is made a storehouse, rather than a laboratory. The books, that multiply so fast, are mainly products of compilation and dilution. Never were these words of Chaucer more true ;

“ Out of the olde fieldes, as men saithe,
Cometh all this new corn fro yere to yere ;

And out of olde bookes, in good faith,
Cometh all this newe science that men lere."

It is no generation of thinkers, we fear, that our popular school-systems are training up. Within the memory of many of our readers, pupils were compelled to think by the poverty of both their school-books and their teachers. No straw was given them, and yet the full tale of bricks was demanded under peril of the scourge ; and both straw and bricks were elaborated and duly delivered. When the young arithmetician wrought out the most complex problems, with no aid except a misty and arbitrary rule at the beginning of the list, his own mind was obliged to mingle itself largely with the process. When he had wrought an example, he understood it, and his intellect had grown by the exercise. Thus the very abstruseness of many of the ancient school-books was a benefit to those who would study ; for there were numberless chasms, which thought alone could bridge, and for which the mere task-masters, miscalled teachers, were, for the most part, unable to provide. And the young mind was not loaded beyond the power of digestion, or so as to clog appetite ; nay, the very meagreness of the fare contributed to keep up a healthy inward working.

But now, every thing is brought to the last degree of simplification. If, in any existing school-book, it is discovered, that room is anywhere left for the action of the scholar's mind, a new book comes out, at once, expressly to remedy that defect. The wholesome theory, that there should be a copartnership of intellect between the writer and the learner, is all exploded. The process of instruction is like the decanting of old wine into new bottles ; and books are the tunnel. The fancied perfection of teaching consists in making it as much as possible like play. The *beau idéal* of a schoolmaster is, literally, a *ludimagister*. The fundamental maxim of fashionable educationists is, " The mind is not to be taxed " ; and the mind, on which no tax is levied, pays none. Mathematics are taught by toys ; geography and history must be mixed with equal portions of Peter Parley's mythology ; the mysterious differences between active, passive, and neuter verbs, instead of being beaten into children's brains, as of old, by hard blows, are more kindly, yet not more wisely, illustrated by the picture of a whipping ; while

all the mooted points in moral philosophy, which have baffled the wisdom of ages, are despatched in a thin 18mo, which treats but of tops and whistles, broken glass, and stolen sweet-meats. Even in the study of the ancient languages, the good old way, of hard work and thoughtful analysis with the grammar and dictionary, is almost deserted ; and patent gerund-grinders are getting into use so fast, that, as regards educational processes, it will soon be said of the critical scholar, "*Nascitur, non fit.*"

And what shall we say of the thought-killing quantities of printed paper, which children are expected to con and recite ; and of the standard, by which the merits of different schools are judged, — the same by which race-horses are estimated, — that school bearing away the palm, where the greatest space is gone over in the shortest time ? In the cant of the day, the seeds of knowledge are said to be sown broadcast. But the figure is an inadequate one. The actual process is, as if a farmer, in the spring, should dig a great trench, pour in his seed by the bushel, and then cover it up. And what would he find there in the autumn ? Identically the same seed in various stages of decay. How often, where the harvest of assiduous mental culture should appear, are we compelled to witness this very spectacle, — the seed, originally consigned to the virgin soil, because it was planted too thick to germinate, lying where it fell, useless, putrescent, and offensive !

Another feature of a thought-saving age may be found in the prevalent literary tastes and habits. The master-pieces of reasoning, such books as really aid reflection, books which one cannot read without deep thought, how little are they read ! How few are the devoted readers of such men as Cudworth and Butler ! How little quarter is given to the modern writer, who presents metaphysical truth in a purely philosophical form, who communicates, in manly simplicity, the results of clear intuition and sound reasoning, and leaves his readers to digest and apply them ! Even on the deepest subjects, on subjects, which no one can fathom without girding up all his force of intellect, and placing his whole soul in the attitude of solemn attention, the demand is for *popular* books, for *interesting* books, that is, for such books as one can doze over and laugh over, for books as full of trivial illus-

trations as a nursery volume is of pictures. And the reader seizes upon these illustrations as arguments, deals with facts as if they were principles, and remains self-satisfied with such glimmer of spiritual truth, as may be reflected from tawdry material imagery. The writer, who would have the popular suffrage, must make it his business to macerate the strong meat of manly minds into food for babes.

Of course, the same thought-saving tendency marks the prevailing habits of reading. There exists among all classes of the community a desire to be deemed or styled *intellectual*. And this sadly-abused term is applied rather according to what one reads, than to what he is. The good mother, who has read her New Testament all her days, has inwardly digested it, and has made it a fountain of deep practical wisdom, is respected for her virtues, but pitied or derided for lack of those intellectual attributes, which are ascribed in full to her daughter, simply because she has read some thousands of pages, no matter how stupid, foolish, or wicked. "She openeth her mouth with wisdom," said Solomon, when he described a paragon of female excellence. "She hath devoured a circulating library," is an endorsement, which, we fear, many a fair one of the present day would rather covet. The idea is universally prevalent, (and it cannot be too generally entertained,) that it is unworthy of a rational being to live without some intellectual pursuit. Few, however, are willing actually to task their minds, either without books, or by means of books. The majority regard reading as a more dignified and worthy employment than thinking; and, well knowing that it is the easier of the two, read much and think none. It is to meet the demands of such readers, that the press groans. It is for such, that hosts of pettifogging pens rest not day or night, that fourth-rate novels are cast with undoubting faith upon the public hospitality, that *Libraries* innumerable and interminable are projected and published, that the sweepings of a by-gone literature are reproduced in those weekly sheets, which are vaunted each as equivalent to an octavo volume.

This general appetite for books is at present so poorly catered for, as to be productive of very nearly as much harm as good. In our cities and larger towns, the fountains of a pure literature are open for all who will drink at them, and

there is a sufficiently strong literary influence to give the public taste a right direction. But in the villages and thinly-settled districts, the choice of books is mainly left to chance, and yet worse, to a *chance with loaded dice*,—to the chance of auctions and pedlers' packs. Nor is this fortuitous selection controlled by the combined or representative wisdom of each little community; for in the country towns there are very few public or social libraries of general literature. Such libraries were to be found some twenty or thirty years ago, in most of the towns, and even now they have a name to live; but have either remained without increase and grown obsolete, or else have become church or parish property, and are replenished with sectarian theology. People now prefer taking a newspaper and a magazine, and buying ever and anon a shop-worn novel, to paying an annual assessment to be expended for the general edification, at the grave discretion of the village priest and lawyer.

Moreover, were these central institutions as liberally and judiciously sustained as could be desired, they would be very far from meeting the wants of the whole community. They must necessarily be the property of the few and the near, not of the many and the remote. How little for the improvement of a thousand people scattered over a town five miles square, could a single library of three or four hundred well-chosen volumes do! The village library might supply with reading a hundred out of the thousand. The remaining nine hundred will read, or might be induced to read. Should they not then be provided with books, or saved from the curse of bad books? There is but one way of supplying the whole population of New England with profitable reading; and that is by furnishing every school district with a library. To such libraries all may have access; for the place of deposit would be within the easy reach of all, and most families would have in the younger members daily inducements and facilities for sending thither. By this arrangement, each school district is made a literary society; and the place of instruction for the young becomes the seat and source of knowledge to those of every age. Moreover, where the library is supported by a tax on all the inhabitants of the district, the very fact that all had helped in paying for it would insure general use.

Considerations of this kind led the Massachusetts legislature of 1837 to authorize by law the taxing of school-districts

to a certain amount for the purchase and annual increase of district libraries. But here the question arose, "How shall these libraries be selected? What assurance is there, that in many districts, from the ignorance or negligence of committees, the money raised for this purpose may not be worse than wasted? By what mark are those but little conversant with general literature, to choose out the precious, and eschew the vile, from among numberless books of fair exterior and good report?" This difficulty suggested to the members of the Board of Education the plan of recommending a series of books for district libraries. An enterprising publishing firm stood ready to print, in uniform editions, whatever they might recommend. On considering the range of subjects to be embraced in such a plan, the Board found that, while on many subjects there were extant treatises in every way suited to their proposed series, on others there were none, or at best only such as must be abridged or modified in order to be made available. It was determined, therefore, to embrace in the series republications, abridgments, and original works. The *School Library* is issued in pursuance of this plan. It is not, as many might infer from its name, a library for strictly school use; but a library designed to be kept in every school-house for the use of the families of the whole district. The principal series consists of works designed no less for adults than for intelligent youth. The juvenile series is for children only.

This enterprise is not conducted under legislative enactment or patronage. It is a private enterprise sanctioned by the Board of Education. There is no obligation on the part of any district to purchase the works thus published. Committees are left entirely free in their selection of books. But those, who are disposed to avail themselves of the superior judgment of others, are by this plan enabled to enjoy the advice of a body of men eminently qualified for the trust they hold. We have in the well-known fidelity and zeal of the Board collectively, and in the sound judgment and pure taste of its individual members, the highest possible assurance, that this plan will be judiciously and happily executed. Their *imprimatur* is not a mere form; but given only after a deliberate and thorough examination of each separate work.

We have a further guaranty for the "*School Library*" in

the authors of the highest eminence in their respective departments, who have engaged to furnish original volumes for it. It will suffice to mention such names as those of Judge Story, President Wayland, and Professor Silliman, among many others, which hold an equally high place in the public esteem.

The publishers propose issuing fifty volumes of each series, in sets of ten each, with an interval of several months between the decades, so as to enable individuals or school-districts, to purchase the whole series with but little expense at any one time. The first decade of the larger series is now before us, together with the first two volumes of the smaller or juvenile; and we avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity of recommending these volumes, and the plan generally, to the public interest and patronage.

The volumes already issued do credit to the taste of the publishers, and we cordially hope, that the enterprise will prove as lucrative to them, as they may aim to render it worthy of general patronage. The paper of the volumes before us is fair and strong, the type new and clear, the binding both substantial and elegant, the engravings, maps, and cuts, numerous, tasteful, and ornamental. The books are handsome enough for a drawing-room library, and yet are done up in a style well adapted to the rough and tumble of promiscuous circulation.

On the editorship of these volumes too we must bestow unqualified praise. We find in them all the unobtrusive, but essential graces of systematic punctuation and accurate typography. They are amply and judiciously provided with notes and pictorial illustrations. No obscure point or remote allusion in the text of the republished works is left unexplained. Every thing in the series is carefully adapted to American readers of ordinary advantages and attainments. Each volume, which admits of it, is furnished with a full alphabetical index. Each has appended to it a copious glossary of scientific terms, foreign words and idioms, proper names, and obsolete or unusual modes of expression.

The first volume is Irving's "Columbus," abridged by himself, and enriched by the Author's narrative of his visit to Palos, (the port at which Columbus embarked for America,) now first given to the public in a permanent form. It is needless to multiply remarks on a work so well known as this in

its original dress, or to say a word in vindication of the appropriateness, with which it is made to occupy the first place in the series under review. Suffice it to say, that the present abridgment is made at the expense, neither of minute detail, nor of good taste; but the narrative has gained in graphic power by condensation, so that it will be read with new interest in this edition.

A considerable portion of this volume is occupied by an ably written, or rather a felicitously compiled "Introductory Essay," which brings together the testimony of a large number of eminent American statesmen and scholars, in behalf of the cause of popular education, and in favor of legislative enactments and systematic efforts for the diffusion of knowledge.

The next two volumes of the "School Library," we have no hesitation in pronouncing the most perfect and valuable edition extant of Paley's "Natural Theology." Dr. Bartlett has taken for the basis of his labors the late English edition, with notes by Lord Brougham and Sir Charles Bell, with supplementary dissertations by the latter. Most of those notes he has retained, and has added notes of his own, wherever additional explanations seemed necessary. He has also retained the numerous wood-cuts of the English edition, and furnished others himself, so that there is hardly a passage, capable of pictorial illustration, which is not accompanied with an appropriate cut. Such of the supplementary dissertations as Dr. Bartlett thought best to republish, he has incorporated into the body of the work, in connexion with those of Paley's chapters, which they were designed to illustrate. The second volume contains Lord Brougham's "Analytical View of the Researches on Fossil Osteology, and their Application to Natural Theology," also his "Dialogues on Instinct and Animal Intelligence." The whole is followed by an accurate and ample Glossary and Index. The aspect of the work is such as to tempt those most familiar with Paley to a re-perusal; and we cannot but rejoice to see this incomparable treatise offered to the public in so inviting a form, that even a school-boy could hardly look without reading, or begin without finishing.

The next three volumes of the "Library" are selected from Sparks's "American Biography," containing, (with sev-

eral portraits and fac-similes of handwriting,) the lives of Robert Fulton, John Stark, David Brainerd, John Smith, Sebastian Cabot, Ethan Allen, Henry Hudson, Joseph Warren, Israel Putnam, David Rittenhouse, Sir Henry Vane, William Pinkney, Anthony Wayne, William Ellery, and Richard Montgomery. It is intended that the series shall be peculiarly rich in the department of American Biography; and these already well known and elegantly written memoirs may be regarded as an earnest of future, similar, and no less valuable contributions to the series.

The remaining four volumes of the first decade are, "The Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons," by Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, Scotland, arranged and adapted to American readers by Dr. Greenwood. These volumes contain appropriate reflections on the divine attributes, as displayed in the phenomena of nature and of human life, for every day in the year, each volume being devoted to a season, and divided into as many chapters as the season contains days. The range of subjects, introduced into these reflections, is vast. There are chapters dedicated to almost every department of natural history and science, to the various useful and ornamental arts, to the resources, habits, and manners of different nations; in fine, to every familiar theme, from which a devout mind might draw arguments for religious gratitude and adoration, while, in the Sunday papers, we find edifying trains of thought on a wide diversity of ethical and theological subjects. The chapters are short; the illustrations, well-chosen and entertaining; the religious considerations, inwoven into the texture of the work, and running through the whole, instead of standing out in stiff, frigid relief, in the shape of a formal moral, at stated intervals. The variety of subjects, taken up in these volumes, their affluence in curious facts and anecdotes, and their familiar, easy style, will render them universally popular. They will be invaluable as *family books*, which may always be put into young hands in the certainty, that they will furnish an unfailing fund of entertainment and improvement, and in which a judicious parent may find suggested many profitable themes, to be carried out in fireside conversation and instruction. Had Dr. Duncan written his work for the express purpose, for which it has now been republished, we know not how he could have varied his general

outline for the better. But we are reminded, in every part of the work, of the care, skill, and taste, exercised by the American editor, who has occasionally inserted short papers, original and selected, and has been indefatigable in the task of revision, correction, and adaptation.

The succeeding works, of this series, will embrace a great variety of subjects. Besides several ethical and political works, and several biographies and histories, treatises are in the course of preparation on Agriculture, Chemistry, Technology, Volcanic Agency, and numerous other subjects, on which there are no works, adapted for general circulation, now extant.

Of the Juvenile Series we can say but little. The two specimen volumes before us give a fair promise. They are such books as every parent would be glad to have his children read. Mrs. Embury's Sketches are fresh and glowing; some of them full of the truest pathos, and all of a highly moral tendency. Two or three of them, perhaps, approach a little too nearly the character of the *nouvellette*. Were we to write any thing about Jane Taylor, we should want to devote a whole article to her. Though somewhat eclipsed by the cloud of writers for the young, that have recently risen up, to our taste she remains unrivalled. Her more playful tales, and her graver lessons, alike flow from a true simplicity of heart, from a close intimacy with childhood, and a deep religious love for the young spirit. It seems to us, that the words of the great Teacher, "Suffer little children to come unto me," are never dismissed from her thoughts. In Mrs. Hale's selection, while we miss much that we should be glad to see, we find nothing with which we should be willing to part.

We will only say, in conclusion, that we anticipate, from the further progress of both series of "The School Library," a succession of instructive, suggestive, and thought-nourishing works, which will do much to cure both young and old of the habit of reading merely for pastime, or for appearance' sake, and to excite the desire, and lay open the field, for serious reflection and diligent study on many subjects of the highest interest and moment.

ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Elements of Chemistry, including the recent Discoveries and Doctrines of the Science*. By the late EDWARD TURNER, M. D. Sixth American Edition. With Notes and Emendations, by FRANKLIN BACHE, M. D. Philadelphia : Thomas, Cowperthwaite, & Co. 8vo. pp. 666. 1840.

THIS excellent work is well known. It has passed through five editions in England, where a sixth was in the course of publication, at the time of the accomplished author's death. The publication was continued by Dr. Turner's brother, in conjunction with Professor Liebig. In consequence of the demand for the work, four hundred and ten pages of the new edition were issued in London, as a "First Part," in 1837. Several months elapsed before the "Second Part" appeared, and still a longer interval before the publication of the "Third Part." This last comprises but about one hundred pages, and was issued in 1839. Since then no more has appeared, and the work is still incomplete.

Five editions have been published in this country, under the editorial care of Professor Bache, than whom a more competent editor could not have been selected. We have, however, in common with others, regretted, that Professor Bache did not render Dr. Turner's work of a more practical and experimental character. It is not sufficiently elementary for beginners, or for use as a text-book, although admirably suited to the wants of the more advanced student of chemistry.

Two years ago, four hundred and sixty pages of a new American edition were issued, embracing the First Part ; and we have been impatiently looking for the remaining parts. The whole is now before us, as "the Sixth American Edition" ; but it is not announced as from the sixth London edition, — an important fact, as will be seen on comparing the two. Indeed, this "Sixth American Edition" is, with some few changes in but 233 of the pages, only a reprint of the old edition of 1835. The Sixth English edition presents us, in almost every page, with great and important changes and alterations of the text ; not so the Sixth American.

It is true, that the advertisement, prefixed to this edition, informs us, that it is a reprint of the fifth, as far as "Sulphur, page 191," when the printing appears to have been suspended

until the receipt of the First and Second Parts of the new English edition, from which we are told in the "Advertisement," "the printing was continued." This is indeed a candid avowal that this sixth American edition is neither Dr. Turner's "Elements" as it *was*, nor as it *is*; and, on comparison, the English edition will be found to be quite a different book.

What is naturally to be inferred, under these circumstances, is, that the publishers chose to finish their undertaking, and get the book into the market at any rate, rather than wait for the completion of the work in London; and that, Dr. Bache's name having been connected with the other editions, and he having revised the first four hundred and sixty pages, the publishers completed the six hundred and sixty-six pages, by reprinting the residue from the old edition, on their own responsibility, and without sufficient regard to the reputation of the deceased author, or to the reasonable expectations of the living.

We might adduce page after page, from this sixth American edition, with the corresponding passages from the parts of the sixth English, to show how many and important are the omissions in the former, and the changes made in the latter; but we have room to notice only a few of them.

The elegant method of estimating the specific heat of gases, founded on La Place's formula for calculating the velocity of sound, is given at page 52, in the sixth English edition, but is altogether wanting in the sixth American. In the table of the relations of the specific heats of elementary bodies and their equivalents, the four important substances, arsenic, carbon, iodine, and phosphorus, are omitted. The American edition contains no notice of the researches of Avogadro and Newmann, which are found in the English, at page 55. These and several other additions to the English edition are, it is true, comprised in the earlier pages which were not received in this country when the First Part of the American edition appeared, but there can be no excuse for not having given them in the Appendix.

At pages 84-86 of the sixth English edition, Dr. Turner has given a succinct and masterly account of the undulatory theory of light, which alone, in his opinion, is suitable to the present condition of the science. In the sixth American edition it is merely named. We have, too, the old statement, that light is "not reflected by purely gaseous bodies," instead of "light may be reflected by all media, whether solid, liquid, or *gaseous*!" The table of the refractive indices of gases, contained in the sixth English edition, is

not to be found in the American. There are important changes in the English edition, in the pages devoted to "Light," which the reader will in vain seek in the American.

Passing over the alterations which, in the English edition, have been made in the first part of the section on Electricity, and do not appear in the American edition, we turn to page 117 of the former, where we find a notice of the valuable and interesting experiments of Mossotti on the forces which regulate the internal constitution of bodies, and which are to be viewed as favorable to the Franklinian hypothesis. Of these nothing is said in the sixth American edition, "including the recent discoveries and doctrines."

Every one at all conversant with the great accession to our knowledge of the laws of the action of Voltaic circles, which has been made by the researches of Faraday, will be astonished to find, that this American edition contains merely the statements of 1835. It need hardly be remarked, that such is far from being the case with the sixth London edition. In the latter, too, the whole arrangement of the section has been changed and greatly improved. In this American edition, the slight allusion to Becquerel's experiments remains; but the notices of those of Crosse, and of those of Fox on the electrical state of mineral veins, and the new light they have thrown upon many obscure phenomena, which occur in the English edition, should have had a place in the Appendix, where, however, they are not to be found.

There are also several new explanatory figures wanting in the American edition.

In the English edition we find an account of Ampère's views in connexion with the Atomic theory, and some important additions in relation to the theory of volumes, which are wanting in the American edition.

Dr. Turner has exhibited the changes which Berzelius has made in chemical formulæ; but the student who may be referred to the sixth American edition of the "Elements," that he may be enabled to use or understand them, will be sadly disappointed. He will find no notice of the formulæ of Liebig and Poggendorff, which are coming so much into use in Europe, and which are, indeed, constantly employed in the body of the English edition of Turner's work.

The latter part of the "Elements" relates to a department of the science, in which greater changes have been called for than in any other; from the extent to which the analysis of organized bodies has recently been carried, the

skill with which it has been executed, and the inferences to which it has led. Indeed, so vast had been the accumulation of facts in 1837, that it became absolutely necessary to remodel and rewrite all the pages on "Organic Chemistry," and this within *two* years after the publication of the fifth edition in England. Not a page, period, or line, we believe, remains in the sixth English edition as it was in the fifth. It is here an entirely different work. And yet a sixth American edition is thrust upon us in 1840, professing to contain "the recent discoveries and doctrines"! Nor, as has been said, is this part even yet completed in England. In the English edition seven distinct compounds are arranged under carbonic oxide (and this in the "Organic Chemistry"), while in the American that substance retains the same place it did in the edition of 1835, and the compounds are dispersed through other parts of the volume, anywhere but where they belong. So, too, oxalic acid is to be found in its old place, among the "Vegetable Acids."

The new views of Liebig are very fully given in the English edition (contained in the "third" part, published in England months ago); but we find nothing of them in the one before us. As to the compounds of carbon and nitrogen, and cyanogen as the compound radical, we are left in utter darkness. Liebig describes, in his continuation of Dr. Turner's "Elements," six compounds. Of one of these with hydrogen, viz. Hydrocyanic (Prussic) acid, — so important to be known, even to those who are not professed chemists, — there is nothing in this sixth American edition. Neither the process for making it, nor its properties, nor the means of detecting it after death, in cases of suspected poisoning, are given. One would not learn from this book any thing more than the existence of this interesting though deadly acid, to which, in the sixth English edition, several pages are devoted. At page 260 of the American edition we read, that "it [cyanogen] is in fact a compound radical of organic chemistry, and therefore its various combinations will be described in that part of the work." But no description is to be found!

Sufficient has been said to prove to our readers, that the sixth American edition of Turner's "Elements of Chemistry" is not what the title-page gives it out to be; that it does not contain the recent discoveries and doctrines; and that it is in fact a long way, — years, we had almost said, — behind the present state of the science. We are far from

attributing this to any oversight of the learned editor. We are persuaded, that, had the work been published at once, as commenced, it would have fully sustained the high character it had acquired and have been brought up to the state of the science. But we cannot but think, that the editor, finding so great delay in bringing out the work, abandoned the task, and is not responsible for its completion from the old edition. All the preceding editions have been kept up to the state of the science ; the present must not only materially impair the usefulness of the work wherever it obtains currency, but must be viewed by every follower of science, and by every friend of the late and lamented author, as an act of injustice to his reputation and memory. It would be no more than right for the publishers to call in the copies that have been issued, and replace them by others more correct, when the sixth edition shall have been *completed* in England.

2. — *Eighth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.* Boston : John H. Eastburn. 1840. 8vo. pp. 32.

HERE we have another interesting Report on the condition of the Massachusetts Institution for the Blind ; a foundation, which reflects the highest credit on the community, for the liberal spirit which produced and has maintained it, and which is equally honorable to the managers of it, for the enlightened system of instruction pursued there. It is now but ten years since the first germ of this establishment was to be found, in a private dwelling, in an obscure corner of Boston, struggling under all the embarrassments of want of funds, and the inexperience consequent on a new undertaking, of which there was but very little knowledge in the country. The experiment began with a few pupils well selected, to show the capacity of the blind, under a proper tuition, for entering on the most useful branches of knowledge. When the trial had been fairly made, and its success established to the satisfaction of the few gentlemen, who had charge of the infant institution, the results were submitted to the public. The pupils, the scheme of education, and its peculiar apparatus, were brought before the legislature, and before large assemblies in the city. A wide and deep interest was excited in behalf of this less favored portion of our

fellow-creatures, who showed that they only wanted our assistance, to take their place among the useful members of the community, instead of being a burden on it. A liberal appropriation was made by the state legislature ; and Mr. Thomas H. Perkins made a munificent grant of his own noble mansion, contingent on a contribution of fifty thousand dollars, to be raised by private subscription. The people of Boston answered the call with their characteristic spirit; and, in a few weeks, an institution, which was without patronage, without funds or prospects, saw itself, by the conviction, produced on the public mind, of its utility, in a situation for diffusing as extensive and important benefits, as almost any other in the country. The whole story is highly creditable, as we have said, to a community, which, cautious in embarking in doubtful experiments, showed that it could enter earnestly and effectually into so important a plan of benevolence, as soon as its practicability was proved.

The management of the Institution has been distinguished by a wise forecast, which has turned the bounty of the public to the best account. Instead of hoarding up its funds, it has employed them in providing accommodations for a thorough system of instruction, confiding in the belief that the same enlightened spirit, which supplied the means for commencing the work, would continue to cherish it, as it became evident that its sphere of usefulness could be more and more widely extended. Under this system, the appropriation of the State has been uniformly expended in the maintenance of pupils, much beyond the number required of the Asylum to support. The most thorough apparatus has been provided for education, not only in mechanical occupations, but in the higher departments of mental cultivation. Music, and mathematical science, for both of which the blind discover peculiar aptitude, have been taught with the greatest thoroughness ; and the result has been, to qualify those, who seemed cut off by natural infirmity from the ways of men, for the various duties of active life, and for occupying their own lonely hours in a manner both pleasing and profitable to themselves. These results are not overstated. Numbers of those, who have been in the Institution, and who before were supported by their families or towns, have returned home, with the means of earning their livelihood wholly, or with very little aid. It is needless to expatiate on the blessed consequences to the unfortunate individuals, as well as to society at large, from such results. Surely, never did the bounty of the public meet with a richer or speedier return.

The Institution is now removed to the neighbourhood of

Boston, to an airy and elevated position, with ample grounds around it; and a building sufficiently spacious for the present and prospective demands of the establishment. The change was rendered necessary by the increase of the school, whose numbers would soon have been restricted by the confined quarters of the city, and who are obviously every way better accommodated in the open country, and with more personal safety, than they could be amidst the crowds of a bustling metropolis. The resources of the Asylum have been so largely drained by the various arrangements, as to be now barely adequate to its immediate wants; while it is straitened in some departments, where, if it had the means, it might accomplish a great good. This is particularly the case in regard to its printing, in which its sagacious director, Dr. Howe, — to whom the school is under obligations, not to be estimated by money, — has made such improvements as to have attracted much attention, as well as imitation, on the other side of the water. His labors, in this department, may be said, indeed, to have given sight to the blind; and we can only regret that the want of funds should limit the means of extending those blessings, so freely enjoyed by the poorest who can see, to those of our unfortunate brethren who cannot. But there can be little doubt, that a community, who have the interests of education as much at heart as any other people in the world, will be alive to them in the present instance, where they are connected with circumstances more touching than ordinary.

But our remarks are running to a greater length than we intended. We shall content ourselves with making a single extract, and with recommending the Report itself to the careful perusal of all who take an interest in the welfare and improvement of their fellow-creatures.

The Appendix to the Report contains, among other things, highly interesting details respecting a pupil, named Laura Bridgman, who was placed in the school, some two or three years since, with scarcely an idea in her mind, — for she is deprived, and has been so ever since she was little more than a year old, of every sense, save that of touch. The power of communicating knowledge, through this single channel, — the solitary thread, by which she is connected with humanity, — is one of the most remarkable and interesting phenomena in the history of mind. The full description, in the Appendix, of the course pursued with her, and of its marvellous results, is so long that we are compelled to deny ourselves the satisfaction of laying it before our readers. The account given of her in the body of the Report, is as follows;

"There is one whose situation is so peculiar, and whose case is so interesting in a philosophical point of view, that we cannot forbear making particular mention of it; we allude to Laura Bridgman, the deaf, dumb, and blind girl, mentioned in the two last Reports.

"The intellectual improvement of this interesting being, and the progress she has made in expressing her ideas, are truly gratifying.

"She uses the manual alphabet of the deaf mutes, with great facility and great rapidity; she has increased her vocabulary so as to comprehend the names of all common objects; she uses adjectives expressive of positive qualities, such as *hard, soft, sweet, sour, &c.*; verbs expressive of action, as *give, take, ride, run, &c.*, in the present, past, and future tense; she connects adjectives with nouns to express their qualities; she introduces verbs into sentences and connects them by conjunctions; for instance, a gentleman having given her an apple, she said, *Man give Laura sweet apple.*

"She can count to high numbers; she can add and subtract small numbers.

"But the most gratifying acquirement which she has made, and the one which has given her the most delight, is the power of *writing a legible hand*, and expressing her thoughts upon paper; she writes with a pencil in a grooved line, and makes her letters clear and distinct.

"She was sadly puzzled at first to know the meaning of the process to which she was subjected; but, when the idea dawned upon her mind, that by means of it she could convey intelligence to her mother, her delight was unbounded. She applied herself with great diligence, and in a few months actually wrote a legible letter to her mother, in which she conveyed information of her being well, and of her coming home in ten weeks. It was indeed, only the skeleton of a letter, but still it expressed in legible characters a vague outline of the ideas which were passing in her mind. She was very impatient to have *the man* carry this letter, for she supposed that the utmost limit of the Post Office Department was to employ a man to run backward and forward between our Institution and the different towns where the pupils live, to fetch and carry letters. We subjoin to this Report an exact *fac simile* of Laura's writing, observing that she was not prompted to the matter, and that her hand was not held in the execution; the matter is quite original, and the chirography is entirely her own.

"She has improved very much in personal appearance as well as in intellect; her countenance beams with intelligence; she is always active at study, work, or play; she never repines, and most of the time is gay and frolicsome.

"She is now very expert with her needle, she knits very easily, and can make twine bags and various fancy articles very prettily. She is very docile, has a quick sense of propriety, dresses herself with great neatness, and is always correct in her deportment. In short, it would be difficult to find a child in the possession of all her senses, and the enjoyment of the advantages that wealth and parental love can bestow, who is more contented and cheerful, or to whom existence seems a greater blessing than it does to this bereaved creature, for whom the sun has no light, the air no sound, and the flowers no color or smell."

— pp. 8 - 10.

3. — *Topographical Description and Historical Sketch of Plainfield, in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, May, 1834.*
By JACOB PORTER. Greenfield. 1834. 8vo. pp. 44.

FROM this pamphlet, which, though not lately published, has but recently fallen into our hands, it appears, that Plainfield, at the northwest corner of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, on the eastern side of the Green Mountain range (incorporated in 1807), has geological features of some interest. Some strata (mica and talcose slate) the author says, are "turned up, so that their *inclination* is *perpendicular*," an effect which he ascribes to "the general deluge." A variety of minerals occur, some of which are prized by collectors. The writer thinks, that gold will probably be found in the beds of talcose slate, which occupy a large portion of the town, it having been discovered, in the same range, in Vermont. But as long as the good people of Plainfield, being short of one thousand, can, in addition to woollen fabrics, manufacture forty-eight thousand palm-leaf hats, in one year, valued at eight thousand nine hundred dollars; turn shoe-lasts and broom-handles by means of an "improved machine"; raise Indian corn, wheat, and other grains, to which, it seems, their soil is adapted, to say nothing of the sugar-maple and potatoes; and, besides, pasture some four thousand sheep; they will do well, we think, to seek gold elsewhere than in the bowels of their mountains, — though, as to the probability (the author puts the question) of a profitable manufacture of "molasses" from "potatoes," which grow there "of excellent quality," we must demur a little.

We are not disposed to question what the writer asserts, that "walking in the woods is extremely delightful, especially in the spring;" and we can readily believe him, when he says, that he "has enjoyed many a ramble through the grove, and over

"The craggy hill, where rocks, with wild flowers crowned,
Burst from the shady copse and verdant ground;
Where sportive nature every form assumes,
And, sweetly lavish, spreads a thousand blooms.'" — p. 10.

The author is fond of quoting poetry, and so are we. But to get back to sober prose, which, for the present, is needful, Plainfield will not suffer from a comparison with other towns in the interior of the Commonwealth, in regard to its efforts in the cause of education. In this connexion, the Rev. Moses

Hallock, the first minister of the place, deserves honorable mention. The labors of such men are not always estimated at their full worth. To their patient and humble toils, to the direction they succeed in giving to the youthful mind, and the ardor of truth and knowledge they inspire, the world is often more indebted than it is aware. Among the pupils of Mr. Hallock, we find the names of several individuals since extensively known to the public. The poet Bryant is one.

In conclusion, we can truly say, that the pamphlet has interested us in the reading ; and, though it betrays some marks of carelessness, it contains many facts which are worth being known and preserved. Such sketches of local history show the working of our free institutions, and the elements of our growth and prosperity. In a statistical view, they are too valuable to be dispensed with.

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4. — *An Historical Discourse, delivered at the Celebration of the Second Centennial Anniversary of the First Baptist Church, in Providence, November 7th, 1839.* By WILLIAM HAGUE, Pastor of the Church. Providence. 1839. 12mo. pp. 192.

THE Discourse of Mr. Hague, though not remarkably rich in original materials, holds a worthy place among the productions called forth by similar occasions at the present day. The subject, as the author could not but be aware, presents some points of great interest, and, as was proper, he has dwelt upon them at considerable length. Treating of the first Baptist Church in America, founded, too, by Roger Williams and his associates, he would very naturally be led to say something of those principles of the soul's freedom, which found so strenuous an advocate in that pure-minded man, in many respects in advance of his age. We are not disposed to complain of the length to which he has extended his inquiries and remarks on this subject, disproportionate as the space given to it may at first view seem. By many, this will be regarded as the most interesting portion of the performance.

Mr. Hague is at some pains to show, that Roger Williams was not the discoverer of those great "moral truths," which animated and solaced him in all his wanderings and labors, and which he embodied in the polity of his new Commonwealth.

They were secretly cherished by multitudes in England, and on the continent, in the time of Elizabeth, though the open expression of them was checked by the heavy pressure of the hand of power. Contrary to the general supposition, the Baptists were numerous before the disturbances at Munster. "It is clear," says the writer, "that those have reason for their opinion, who say that the Baptists may trace the history of their sentiments through the old Waldensian churches." These sentiments, he contends, embraced those principles of religious freedom, the assertion of which caused the expulsion of Roger Williams from Massachusetts. "He was only one of a sacred succession." Whether or not Mr. Hague's authorities, which are numerous, fully bear him out in all these statements, is a point we cannot now discuss.

The subsequent portion of the Discourse is occupied chiefly with a notice of the several pastors of the church. Some general reflections follow, and biographical notes are added in an appendix. The whole is written in a clear and unpretending style, without any attempt at eloquence, but in a spirit of good faith and earnestness, which cannot fail of securing for the author a fair hearing from those who may dissent from some of his positions and reasonings.

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5. — *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*. By JOSEPH B. FELT. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 1839. 8vo. pp. 248.

MR. FELT's book is an accumulation of facts, relative to currency and prices in Massachusetts, from the settlement of the colony to the present time, arranged chronologically, without any continuity of narrative, without any division into chapters and sections, without any table of contents, or index of subjects. It is, accordingly, an exceedingly repulsive work, either to read or to consult, for it requires a very stern and persevering resolution to labor on, page after page, through two hundred and forty or fifty pages on the subjects of wampumpeag, beaver-skins, paper money, public bills of credit, the exhausted state of the treasury, taxes, and other kindred topics. These subjects are detailed with patient fidelity in a fragmentary *congeries*. And as to consulting the work, the only clew to any matter is the date. If you have that, the margin readily

leads you to the year and month sought ; if you have not the date, the only way is to begin the book and read patiently.

It is to be regretted, that Mr. Felt has not given some clew to the subjects treated of, in his book, by a table of contents, or index, or both, and we do not see any thing to prevent his still adding those appendages. And the importance of the subject will justify this additional labor ; for the book is full of instruction from beginning to end, not only as throwing great light upon the history of the country, and the working of its institutions, but also giving practical lessons, applicable to the present state of things.

The work illustrates a striking fact, of which all our new settlements afford similar illustrations ; namely, that a country may be in a condition of rapid growth, in numbers, wealth, and improvements, and, at the same time, in a state of continual embarrassment, with now and then a paroxysm of intense consternation and distress.

Another subject, present to the mind in every part of this economical history, is the vital importance of a good circulating medium, that is, coin, or paper redeemable in specie, or supported by an unquestionable public or private credit ; for it may consist of one or all of these, and the two latter are as important and effectual as the first. In regard to individual credits between man and man, or between banks and their customers, it would be extreme folly for any government to attempt to regulate and control it, otherwise than by providing laws for the enforcement of contracts. But where credits are the basis of the currency, or the currency itself, as in the case of bank notes, or treasury drafts, the public is bound to maintain the credit in its own case, and, in the case of banks, to inspect the state of the credit, as far as the currency is liable to be affected, with the most rigid and exact scrutiny. This is now done in Massachusetts and many other States, so that the circulating medium is on as good a footing, as far as paper is concerned, as it can possibly be, with perhaps one deficiency in the regulations. There have been some attempts, but none of them successful, we believe, absolutely to prohibit banks from discounting new paper, when their specie falls below a certain proportion to their notes in circulation. Such a regulation would, by no means, be, of itself, a sufficient guaranty of the soundness of currency, but it would be an essential auxiliary to the others now in operation. The banking companies have, hitherto, successfully resisted such a law. But, without this restriction, the banks, constituted, conducted, and inspected, as they now are, in those States

where they are best regulated, are among the most admirable institutions that have sprung from the invention and social improvement of man. Almost every page of Mr. Felt's book is, by contrast, a practical eulogy upon our present banking system.

Another subject, of intense interest, at the present time, and likely to be so in future, is illustrated more distinctly and satisfactorily in Mr. Felt's book, than in any other work before published. The people of this country have, at frequently recurring periods, felt the disastrous and overwhelming effect of an immense foreign debt, following upon excessive importations, and often aggravated by the consequent reduction of the prices of the imported articles, and often, still again, aggravated by a contemporaneous reduction of the prices of our own exports in the foreign markets. We are probably more subject to commercial revulsions, from this cause, than any other country in the world, owing to our peculiar relation with England. Mr. Felt's book discloses a series of disasters, from this cause, from the early settlement of the country down to the present time. Every few years this foreign balance has swept the country of specie, and, of course, deranged the currency, on some occasions causing its temporary derangement, only with a partial and transient disturbance of industry and production, but on others, for a time, paralyzing and prostrating business, and bringing ruin upon thousands of enterprising and useful citizens, in all branches of industry. It is worth while to read Mr. Felt's book for the purpose of studying and understanding this class of our commercial phenomena.

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- 6.—*Precedents in Pleading, with Copious Notes on Practice, Pleading, and Evidence.* By JOSEPH CHITTY, Jun., Esq. First American, from the First London Edition. Two Volumes. 8vo. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam. 1839.

THIS work seems to have been demanded by the changes introduced, of late years, in the English law of remedy. The statutes, by which these great legal reforms have been chiefly effected, are, 1st. The Administration of Justice Act, (1 Geo. 4, c. 70.)—2d. The Speedy Judgment and Execution Act, (1 W. 4. c. 7.)—3d. The Examination of Witnesses Act, (1 W. 4. c. 22.)—4th. The Interpleader Act, (1 & 2 W. 4. c. 58.)—

5th. The Uniformity of Process Act, (2 W. 4. c. 39.) — and 6th, The Law Amendment Act, (3 & 4 W. 4. c. 42.) The first of these statutes was directed chiefly to reform in matters of practice ; enabling a single judge to transact much of the interlocutory business, necessary for the advancement of the cause to its final decision ; authorizing the Judges of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, or any eight of them, and no others, to make general rules of practice for all these courts, and opening the practice in them all, to the attorneys of either of them. By the Act for the examination of witnesses, facilities were given for the taking of testimony before a master, in all cases pending, to be used in the event of the absence of the witness at the time of trial (similar, in substance, to a practice long familiar among us) ; and a very convenient provision is made, which we might profitably adopt, for the production at chambers or elsewhere, of documentary evidence intended to be used at the trial of the cause, in order that it may be previously known in what cases the subscribing witnesses will be called for, and that both surprise and expense may be avoided. By the Law Amendment Act, the same judges were authorized to make general rules altering and establishing the mode of pleading ; which, however, were not to take effect till six weeks after they had been laid before both houses of Parliament. In pursuance of the power given by the first of these acts, general rules were made by all the Judges, in Trinity Term, 1831, for the shortening of declarations in certain actions, illustrated by examples, as well as for brevity of proceeding in other stages of the cause ; to which were added, in Hilary Term, 1832, other rules, to assimilate the practice of the different courts, and to render the proceedings more expeditious, and less expensive to the suitors. Under the last of these acts, other general rules were made, in Hilary Term, 1834, restraining the abuse of inserting several counts, and of pleading several pleas, where distinct matters of claim or defence were not intended to be set up under each ; shortening the record, by the omission of obsolete and useless formularies ; abolishing the general issue in actions on bills of exchange and promissory notes, and narrowing its effect in all other cases ; abolishing the plea of *nil debet* ; and requiring that all matters in confession and avoidance should be specially pleaded.

By these statutes and rules, great and salutary improvements have been wrought in the common law methods of remedy. The claim of the plaintiff is stated with directness, brevity, and precision ; the answer of the defendant is given in terms equally explicit ; and the cause proceeds to trial and judgment

with as much rapidity and as little expense, as seems consistent with certainty and impartiality in the administration of justice. Beyond this, there appears little else to be desired. We may be pardoned, however, for the passing remark, that the brief form of declaration, and the consolidation of the common counts, required by these rules, have been used in this country more than twenty years ; and it may be retorted, also, that while, in England, increased care has been taken to guard against surprise, by requiring the matter in defence to be specially pleaded, American legislation has more widely opened the door to that mischief, by permitting the defendant to answer, in all cases, by a mere general denial. It is true, we require that a brief statement of the matter of defence should accompany the general plea ; but, as this admits all sorts of defence, however multifarious, its utility remains to be tested by longer experience.

This great legal reform, as might be expected, rendered all the old books of entries and precedents of little further use. It thus called forth the work of Mr. Chitty, which is a very neat and well-executed revision of the existing forms, adapted to the new rules of practice. The English edition was published in two parts ; the first by Mr. Chitty, in the year 1836 ; and the second in the year 1838, after his decease, which took place in April of that year, by Henry Pearson and Tompson Chitty, Esquires. The American edition appears to be well executed ; and though the forms are still rather more redundant than those in general use in this country, the work, we doubt not, will prove a valuable, we had almost said an indispensable, aid to the American lawyer.

7.—*Principia Saxonica ; or an Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Reading*. By L. LANGLEY, F. L. S. London : 1839. 12mo. pp. 78.

To those who think with Horne Tooke, that the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic ought long ago to have made a part of the education of youth, the publication of this little book will not be unwelcome. It contains the Anglo-Saxon Homily of Archbishop Ælfric, on the Birth-day of Saint Gregory, with a Glossary, and a well-written "Essay on the Importance and Utility of the Anglo-Saxon Language." The object of the book is thus explained by Mr. Langley in his Preface. "In again present-

ing the Homily to the public, with the appendage of a copious Glossary, instead of a Translation, the sole object of the editor is to promote, in however subordinate a capacity, a cause in which he has long felt a deep and undiminished interest, — the cause of Saxon letters." It was his desire to produce, "that novelty in Saxon literature, a cheap book."

Consequently beginners have now within their reach a very good text-book, small in compass and in price. We commend it to their attention.

8. — *The Analyst; a Collection of Miscellaneous Papers.* New York : Wiley & Putnam, 1840. 12mo. pp. 174.

THIS is a volume well worthy to be read. It gives proof of reflection, observation, and literary culture; and its style is always clear, sometimes forcible and terse, though not often elegant. It abounds with shrewd remarks, happy criticisms, and well-drawn traits of character. But it is not executed with equal felicity throughout. The author imitates largely in some parts of his book; he writes not from his own mind, and after his own fashion, but draws from others both matter and form. The series of papers, in which he attempts to delineate certain characters, are not, taken as a whole, very well done, though they contain many single touches of great merit. They constantly remind us of other writers and other times; they are Theophrastus and the French and English essayists remoulded. To paint faithfully a series of characters, to draw them from the life, requires the reflective powers of the philosopher, and the experience of the man of the world; a quick eye to perceive the real peculiarities of men, and a rapid power of combination; a style at once clear, graphic, and discriminating, and that force of imagination which breathes the breath of life into the conceptions of the mind.

It is not enough, therefore, to be familiar with the admired models of this species of writing, belonging to other ages and to different states of society. The characters of Theophrastus are drawn with consummate skill; they betray numberless delicate touches, which mark them as genuine pictures taken from living realities, that passed before the author's eye. The few specimens that Aristotle gave, are not quite so individual as those of Theophrastus; they rest more upon the universal principles of human nature, and upon transient traits;

but still they are touched with the spirit of life and truth. Some of the French authors have been equally successful; and many characters drawn by the British essayists live in our memories with as distinct an individuality as the best known personages of history.

Now the author of these papers has taken more from these sources than from the observation of nature. He relies more upon imitation than experience. His characters do not rise before us like living beings, but are only faded copies of pictures that represent another age. He has not embodied the form and pressure of the times. His characters are like wooden images, dressed out in the costumes of our ancestors. They are cold and artificial combinations of certain qualities of human nature in general, with the oddities, extravagances, or peculiarities, not which lend a variety to the aspect of society now, but which figure in the literature that represents the aspect of society in days long since departed.

But the critical papers show much more ability. The "Thoughts on the Writings of Bulwer" contain more truth, in a short space, upon the works of that great mystagogue of modern frivolity and nonsense, than we have elsewhere seen. The paper on *La Bruyère* is excellent; that on the Old English Comedy, is just and discriminating, and does honor to the moral feeling as well as to the literary taste of the author. But the disquisition on the Scotch, German, French, and English philosophies, is simply absurd. It begins with the remark, that, "in order more clearly to elucidate the spirit of each, a few observations on the national characteristics of each people may not be irrelevant." This task he undertakes to accomplish. He despatches these four great schools of philosophy, preliminary remarks and all, in six pages. There is an air of pretension about this attempt to dash off such great subjects, which it is painful to see deforming the pages of a writer of so much merit; to say nothing of the false and sweeping generalities which make up the whole of this precious little morsel of philosophical disquisition. Among other bold and unfounded assertions, he says, that Stewart is only a "flimsy declaimer," — the elegant, learned, polished Stewart, — the master of the best philosophical style of this age; — whose periods, pregnant with thought, attuned to a beautiful melody, adorned with graceful poetical allusions, remind us of the magnificent eloquence of Cicero, more than any modern author, — to be called by this essayist, or anybody else, a "flimsy declaimer"! The arrogance of literary conceit has rarely led to a more astounding absurdity.

Though we like this author's style very well, in general, we do not like the affected quaintnesses, into which it sometimes

runs. To write *'tis* for *it is*, is merely attempting to put on the air of our great-grandfathers; to say *doth* and *hath*, answers no mortal purpose but to confound the peculiarities of different ages, and make an author's language a disagreeable patchwork of affected and incongruous archaisms.

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9. — 1. *An Address, delivered before the Eumenian and Philanthropic Societies of Davidson College, North Carolina, July 31st, 1839.* By the Rev. P. J. SPARROW, A. M., Professor of Languages in Davidson College. Raleigh: Turner & Hughes. 1839. 8vo. pp. 32.
 2. *Introductory Address, delivered before the Louisiana Institute for the Promotion of Education, December 16th, 1839,* By Professor H. H. GIRD. New Orleans. 1839. 8vo. pp. 21.
 3. *An Address, delivered at Amherst before the Literary Societies of Amherst College, August 27th, 1839.* By DANIEL D. BARNARD. Albany: Hoffman & White. 1839. 8vo. pp. 63.
 4. *Oration, delivered before the Biennial Convention of the Alpha Delta Phi Society, at New Haven, Conn., August 15th, 1839, on the Law and Means of Social Advancement.* By SAMUEL EELLS, President of the Convention. Cincinnati: Kendall & Henry. 1839. 8vo. pp. 69.

MR. SPARROW is a clear, sensible, and tasteful writer. His subject is, the duty of the educated young men of this country; and he handles it ably. He points out the defects in American education, their causes and their remedies; then he discusses the duty of elevating the standard of professional character; and, lastly, he considers the duties of educated young men with respect to literature, to the cause of general education, and to the country as patriots. Under all these heads, the author presents considerations of great importance, in an impressive manner and an elegant style. The only thing we see to find fault with, is, his extravagant eulogy upon that absurd, pedantic, and bigoted poem, Pollok's "Course of Time."

Mr. Gird's Address is rather carelessly written, but contains valuable suggestions to the citizens of Louisiana, upon the state of education there, the dangers to which the youth of

the State are exposed, the proper means to be taken to guard against them, and so on. He speaks with approbation of the establishment of a Board of Education ; and there is a singular contrast between his judicious views upon this subject, and the recent report of the Committee on Education before the Massachusetts legislature.

Mr. Barnard's Address discusses the importance of telling the truth to the people. He shows, that the leading men, of all parties, have used fraud, deception, lies, by which they have been able to lead astray their dupes. He points out the ruinous consequences of this state of things, and insists strongly on a reform. His discourse is marked by sound common sense, and just and right feeling, rather than by vigor or eloquence. The influence of such opinions and views cannot be other than good. The only fault of the oration is its length.

The Oration of Mr. Eells is upon social progress. He ranges over the entire history of the world, and exhibits, under the successive forms of the political institutions and social states, the hidden principles which led to their overthrow. He illustrates his views by examples drawn from a wide extent of reading, and shows himself to be a very well-informed man. But he deals too largely in historical and other common-places ; he undertakes to prove what nobody denies ; he wants compression, vigor, and logical order. His Oration is spun out to an excessive length, filling sixty-nine large pages. If the really good things in it were brought into half the space, by striking out unnecessary words, and taking for granted what everybody knows, the oration would be excellent.

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10. — *Rejected Addresses, or the New Theatrum Poetarum. From the Nineteenth London Edition ; carefully revised, with an Original Preface and Notes, by the Authors.* Boston : William D. Ticknor. 1840. 16mo. pp. 159.

WE notice this little work, not for the purpose of undertaking the superfluous task of commenting on its merits, but merely to express our pleasure in seeing it reprinted here, with the amusing preface and notes of the authors, in so handsome a form. The good-humored wit of the imitations has given a celebrity and a permanent value to this *jeu d'esprit*,

which never before were attained by similar burlesques. The book was wholly out of print here, and the republication will be welcomed, as well by those who laughed over the pages of the work on its first appearance, as by the younger generation of readers, who have only heard its fame.

11. — *An Address delivered before the New England Society in the City of New York, December 23d, 1839.* BY ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston : Perkins & Marvin. New York : Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 1840. 8vo. pp. 60.

WE have rarely read an occasional or historical address with more pleasure than Mr. Winthrop's, delivered before the New England Society, in New York. The principles and characters of our Pilgrim fathers are set forth with a graceful eloquence, and an accuracy of historical knowledge, which show, that Mr. Winthrop has by no means neglected the pursuits of elegant literature amidst the cares and labors of political life. He writes in a grave, earnest, and polished style, which is excellently suited to the gravity, earnestness, and dignity of his sentiments, and to the solemn and interesting character of the occasion. He appreciates justly, and describes forcibly, the conduct of the men, to whom was intrusted, by Providence, the mighty task of founding the New England colonies. He calls up, with warm and reverential interest, the terrific scenes they were summoned to pass through, and delineates, with a glowing pencil, the great consequences to the cause of human liberty all over the world, which have flowed from that, at first sight, well-nigh desperate enterprise. We had marked one or two striking passages to extract, but are compelled to suppress them.

12. — *The Farmer's Companion ; or, Essays on the Principles and Practice of American Husbandry.* Second Edition. By the late Hon. JUDGE BUEL, Conductor of the "Cultivator." Boston : Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb. 1840.

THE publication of this valuable volume, and the reception it has met with, afford new evidence of an increasing interest in the subjects it so ably discusses, and in the

great cause of American agriculture. Much has been done, within a few years, for this cause, but a vast deal more remains to be accomplished ; and we know not of a more efficient instrumentality for that purpose than the circulation of works like this. It is a production of substantial merit ; such, in a word, as the peculiar experience, intelligence, and enthusiasm of the lamented author, as well as the extraordinary opportunities of observation, experiment, and study, which he enjoyed, might reasonably lead us to expect.

In regard both to the author, and to the work before us, we cordially concur in the opinions expressed by Professor Dean, of the Albany Medical College, in his Eulogy, delivered a short time since before the Agricultural Society of the State of New York, of which Mr. Buel was President for many years.

"His writings," says the Professor, "are principally to be found in the many addresses he has delivered ; in the six volumes of his 'Cultivator,' in the small volume (made up, however, principally or entirely, from materials taken from the 'Cultivator,') published by the Harpers, of New York ; and 'The Farmer's Companion,' the last and most perfect of his works, containing within a small compass, the embodied results of his agricultural experience, a rich legacy, to which the great extent of our farming interest cannot remain insensible. * * * * I deem it really the most fortunate circumstance in his life, that he should have been permitted, so immediately previous to his departure, to furnish this volume ; and I shall confidently expect that the coming generation will be better farmers, better citizens, and better men, from having had the formation of their young minds influenced to some extent by the lessons of experience and practical wisdom, derived from the last, best, most mature production of this excellent man."

The "Companion" contains, among numerous miscellanies of great interest, the Discourse prepared to be delivered last autumn, before the Agricultural and Horticultural Societies of New Haven County, Connecticut, the actual delivery of which was prevented by the untimely decease of its author.

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13. — *American Juvenile Biography*. — (1.) *The Life of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer of America*. Boston : Benjamin H. Greene. 1840. 18mo. pp. 233.
 (2.) — *The Lives of Hernando Cortez, the Discoverer of Mexico, and Francisco Pizarro, the Conqueror of Peru*. Boston : Benjamin H. Greene. 1840. 18mo. pp. 194.

THESE two little volumes are exceedingly well adapted to interest the readers for whom they are intended. The narra-

tives of the adventures of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, are told in a very simple but animated manner. The Juvenile reader will easily remember the principal facts, which are here stated so carefully and correctly. We wish there were more such books ; for the knowledge they communicate, though in the most unpretending form, is important. The author of these modest works shows a happy tact, and excellent taste ; and we are sure her circle of little readers will feel themselves greatly obliged to her, for what she has done for their instruction and entertainment.

14. — *The Annuallette, or Christmas and New Year's Gift for Children.* Boston : Samuel G. Simpkins. 1840.

THERE is a pleasant tone running through the book, which will make it acceptable to the same class of readers, for whom the two abovementioned works were intended. The moral tendency of it is worthy of high praise ; the variety and amusing character of its contents will be found attractive ; and the taste which pervades all the pieces is pure and good. We commend it to the friends of little people. The “ History of a Fly ” is a very fine specimen of autobiography.

15. — *A Sermon, preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday morning, January 19th, 1840, on the Destruction of the Lexington by Fire, January 13th.* By S. K. LOTHROP, Pastor of the Church. Published by Request. Boston : John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 24.

THIS is one of a large number of discourses from the pulpit, delivered in Boston and other places, on the occasion of that shocking casualty, the burning of the steamboat Lexington in Long Island Sound. We have read it with that painful interest which the eloquence of the accomplished writer, employed upon so profoundly tragical a theme, could not fail to excite. That the just and manly feeling which pervades it well responded to that of the community around, may be inferred from the fact, that it immediately passed through three or four editions.

To the memory of one, — we need not hesitate to say, — the most illustrious, of the many lamented victims, Mr. Loth-

rop pays the following earnest, but in no wise exaggerated, tribute.

"That the faith of which I speak was present to many, with a calming and sustaining power, we have reason to hope. That it was present to one I cannot doubt; and from among the many husbands and fathers, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, who, torn from their homes on earth, have found, I trust, a home in Heaven, I may be allowed to select and notice one, the only one with whom I had an intimate acquaintance, whose unobtrusive goodness and genuine worth have won for him an abiding-place, in the memory, and the hearts, of all who knew him well.

"Exiled from his birth-place, not for any crime, but for his love of liberty, his adherence to what he thought right and truth, Dr. Follen, brought to this, his adopted country, the same principles, the same noble sentiments, the same love of freedom and of truth, the same devotion to what he deemed duty, that had banished him from his home. It is now nearly twenty years since he sought a refuge in our land, bringing with him no patent of nobility, but that which God had stamped upon his soul; and he needed none other to secure him that place in society to which his worth and talents entitled him. During his residence among us, he has honorably filled some of the most important literary offices in the community. As a Professor in our University, those, who enjoyed his instruction, will bear testimony to his faithfulness and industry, to the unvarying kindness and Christian courtesy which marked his manners. As a preacher, earnest and persuasive, as a pastor, devoted and affectionate, full of good words and works, carrying with him to the houses of mourning a heart of quick and tender sympathies, in the dwellings of the happy and the prosperous remembering the injunction to 'rejoice with them that do rejoice,' he secured to himself the love and respect of all. Even those, and I myself was among the number, who differed from him in judgment and opinion on some subjects, honored and revered the man. His character deserved and inspired these emotions. The qualities, for which Dr. Follen was remarkable, were his ardent love of truth and his fearless devotion to it, his patient perseverance, his high moral purpose, his warm and tender affections, his quick and wide sympathies with humanity, and, especially and above all, the simplicity and purity that distinguished his every thought and word. He was truly an upright and sincere man, 'in whom there was no guile.' In the prime of life, with a mind vigorous, active, and richly stored with learning, a heart full of noble purposes and aspirations, his death is a public bereavement. From literature and religion it takes an ornament, from truth and virtue, an advocate, eloquent in character as well as speech, and from an extensive circle of friends, an object of warm and confident attachment. Upon the sanctuary of private sorrow, we cannot, we dare not, intrude. There is desolation there which none but God can reach and comfort. Our sympathy is with the living, — for him we fear not. Death in however terrible a form, could have no terrors to him. It could not find him unprepared, and those who have seen his 'calm look, where Heaven's pure light was shed,' will feel assured, that in that last hour of mortal agony,

'Faith o'er his soul, spread forth her sunny wing,
And from the spoiler plucked the dreaded sting,'"

pp. 12-14.

Further on, the preacher uses language but too well called for, and hitherto, alas ! too fatally disregarded.

"I hesitate not to say, that after the first emotions of horror and pity, excited by this event, the thought, the feeling that is uppermost in my own mind is, *indignation* ; yes, I will use that word though it be a strong one, indignation at the gross recklessness or carelessness, which caused this destruction of human life and produced this wide suffering, — and *indignation* also at the feeble and inefficient legislation, that permits, and has for years permitted, these disasters to occur throughout our waters, without a just rebuke or an adequate restraint in the laws. I have read the statement published by the agent of this ill-fated boat. I am willing to admit and believe that every word of that statement is true. I admit also that those, whose business it was to prevent by carefulness this accident, are themselves among the sufferers, and that the inference is, that they would not wantonly peril their own lives. They are dead, — I would respect the memory of the dead, — but I must plead, and I feel constrained to plead, for the rights, the protection, the security of the living. Admitting all that has been, or can be said in extenuation, the simple facts of the case, so far as known, *especially when taken in connexion with the circumstance that this self-same boat has unquestionably been on fire once, rumor says two or three times, within the last few weeks*, it seems to me, that these facts are enough to prove that a solemn duty, a fearful responsibility was neglected somewhere by some one, enough to sustain the opinion, widely prevalent, that this awful disaster is to be attributed, either to the selfishness and cupidity of the owners, who, greedy of gain, insisted upon overloading their boat with a dangerous and inflammable freight, or to the culpable carelessness, the utter inattention of the master and officers, in not stowing that freight securely, in not watching ever and constantly, with an eagle eye, the condition and safety of the vessel, to which hundreds had intrusted their lives.

"The simple fact that such an accident, on such a night, occurred, is in itself presumptive evidence of carelessness or incompetence on the part of some one. At any rate, all the circumstances of the case ought to be thoroughly investigated, every thing that can be gathered, if any thing *can* be gathered from the survivors, touching the origin and early progress of the fire, ought to be made known, to satisfy the public curiosity, to relieve the public anxiety. If this investigation makes against the owners or managers, the truth ought not to be winked out of sight. It ought not to be hushed up, and kept back, and passed over. It is a misplaced charity to do it. We are false to our own interests and safety, to the interest and safety of all, in doing it. It ought to be spoken out, to be urged and insisted upon, boldly and plainly. It ought to be proclaimed trumpet-tongued, throughout the length and breadth of the land, till it reaches the halls of Congress, calls off the members from their petty party animosities, their disgraceful personal contentions, and wakes up the government from its inertness, its epicurean repose, a repose of

apparent indifference to those, whose safety it ought to guard, whose lives it ought to protect, — till it causes the supreme power of the land to legislate, wisely and efficiently, for one of the most important interests of the people, and to do, not something, but every thing requisite, to check an evil that cries aloud for redress.

“The destruction of human life in the United States, during the last ten years, by accidents and disasters in the public conveyances, is, I had almost said, beyond computation. It is utterly unparalleled in the history of the world. It confirms, what all foreigners and travellers assert, that there is no country upon earth, where the proprietors, managers, and conductors of these public conveyances, are so little responsible, so slightly amenable to the law, so far beyond the reach of public rebuke or public punishment; and the fearful catastrophe of the past week, as well as many others that might be collected from the history of the past year, are sufficient evidence that the late act of Congress, as was anticipated, has proved utterly inadequate and inefficient, and that something more strong, peremptory, and binding is necessary, to protect the immense amount of life and property, daily and hourly exposed upon our highways and our waters.

“I call upon you therefore, as merchants, who have large interests at stake in this matter, I call upon you as men and citizens, who cannot behold with indifference the sufferings of your fellow-men, to let your influence be felt; let your voice be heard in this thing, let it go forth to swell the power of that great sovereign, Public Opinion, till it demands and insists upon enactments, that shall meet the necessities of the case.” — pp. 17–20.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The Culture of the Beet, and Manufacture of Beet-Sugar, by David Lee Child. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 12mo. pp. 156.

ANNUALS.

The Boston Almanac, for the Year 1840. By S. N. Dickinson. Boston: Thomas Groom. 32mo. pp. 132.

The American Medical Almanac for 1840; designed for the daily Use of Practising Physicians, Surgeons, Students, and Apothecaries. By J. V. C. Smith, M. D. Vol. II. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 18mo. pp. 152.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The Life of William H. Harrison (of Ohio), the People's Candidate for the Presidency. With a History of the Wars with the British and Indians on our Northwestern Frontier. Philadelphia: W. Marshall & Co. 18mo. pp. 212.

The People's Presidential Candidate. The Life of Wm. Henry Harrison, by Richard Hildreth. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo.

Outlines of the Life and Public Services, Civil and Military, of William Henry Harrison. By Caleb Cushing. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 71.

Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry. By William Wirt, of Richmond (Va.). Revised Edition. Philadelphia: Thomas Cowperthwait & Co. 12mo. pp. 306.

The Life of George Washington. By S. G. Arnold, Author of "Memoirs of Hannah More." New York: T. Mason & G. Lane.

A General Biographical Dictionary, comprising a summary Account of the most distinguished Persons of all Ages, Nations, and Professions; including more than One Thousand Articles of American Biography. By the Rev. J. L. Blake, D. D. Third Edition. Philadelphia: James Kay, Jr. & Brother. New York: A. V. Blake. 8vo. pp. 1096.

EDUCATION.

A Grammar of the Hebrew Language. By George Bush, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in the New York City University. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 8vo. pp. 276.

Report on Education in Europe, to the Trustees of the Girard College for Orphans. By Alex. Dallas Bache, LL. D., President of the College. Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey. 8vo. pp. 666.

Civil Polity and Political Economy. For the Use of Schools and Academies. By Marcus Willson. New York: Taylor & Clement.

The American Reader; containing Selections in Prose, Poetry, and Dialogue. Designed for the Use of Advanced Classes in Public Schools, High Schools, and Academies. By P. H. Snow. Hartford: Spaulding & Storrs. Boston: Crocker & Brewster.

First Lessons in Geometry; with Practical Applications in Mensuration and Artificers' Work and Mechanics. By Charles Davies. Hartford: A. T. Barnes & Co.

M. Tullii Ciceronis ad Quintum Fratrem Dialogi Tres de Oratore. Cum Excerptis Variorum Notis. Editio Tertia. Novi-Portus (Conn.): B. & W. Noyes.

Geography on the Inductive System, accompanied by a large and valuable Atlas, for the Use of Schools and Families. By Roswell C. Smith. Hartford: Spaulding & Storrs. New York: Collins, Keese, & Co.

Newcomb's Infant School Question Book. Boston: Mass. Sunday School Society. 18mo. pp. 107.

The Elements of Logic, explained by numerous Examples and Exercises; adapted to the Capacity of Younger Students, and designed for Academies and the Higher Classes of Common Schools. By Charles K. True, A. M. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 156.

Progressive Exercises in English Grammar. Part. III. Containing the Rules of Orthography and Punctuation, the Principles of Etymology, and the Prosody of the English Language, with an Appendix embracing some of the Elementary Principles of Rhetoric and Logic, &c. By Richard Green Parker, A. M. and Charles Fox, A. M. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 12mo. pp. 122.

The Moral Education, or the Culture of the Heart, of the Young. From the German of Zollikofer, Pastor of the Evangelical Church in Leipsic. Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 8vo. pp. 16.

HISTORY.

An Historical Discourse, prepared for the Semi-centenary Sabbath, and delivered on that Day, at the Request of the Session of the Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick, and published at the Request of the Trustees of the Congregation. By Jacob I. Janeway, D. D. New Brunswick: John Terhune. 8vo. pp. 28.

Universal History, from the Creation of the World to the Decease of Geo. III, 1820. By the Hon. Alexander Fraser Tytler, and Rev. Edward Nares, D. D. Edited by an American. In Six Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo.

Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, in Four Books, much corrected, enlarged, and improved from the primary Authorities. By John Lawrence von Mosheim, D. D., Chancellor of the University of Göttingen. A new and literal Translation from the original Latin, with copious additional Notes, original and selected.

By James Murdock, D. D. In Three Volumes. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo.

History of Madagascar; embracing the Progress of the Christian Mission, and an Account of the Persecution of the Native Christians. Boston: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 342.

History of the New Netherlands, Province of New York, and State of New York, to the Adoption of the Federal Constitution. In Two Volumes. By William Dunlap. New York: Published for the Author. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 427.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

Gammer Grethel; or German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories, from the Collection of MM. Grimm and other Sources. Edited by Mrs. Follen. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 312.

Sergeant Bell and his Raree-Show. Embellished with Woodcuts. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 16mo. pp. 144.

Visit to Grandfather; or a Week at Newport. By Sarah S. Cahoon. New York: Taylor & Dodd. 12mo. pp. 213.

James and his Mother; or Conversations on Constantinople. By Eliza B. Dwight, late a Member of the Mission at that City. Boston: Mass. Sunday School Society. 18mo. pp. 57.

The Child's Book of Thought. Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 18mo. pp. 72.

LAW.

Report of the Presbyterian Church Case; the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the Suggestion of James Todd and Others, *vs.* Ashbel Green and Others. By Samuel Miller, Jr., a Member of the Philadelphia Bar. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 8vo. pp. 596.

Civil Office, and Political Ethics. Containing familiar Law relating to Husband and Wife, Parent and Child, Guardian and Ward, Wills, Executors and Administrators, Witnesses, Jurors and Arbitrators. For the Use of Citizens and Schools. By E. P. Hurlburt. New York: Taylor & Clement.

An Argument in Favor of the Constitutionality of the General Banking-Law of this State, delivered before the Supreme Court, at the July Term, 1839. By Samuel A. Troat, of the City of New York, Counsellor at Law. Geneva: Ira Merrell.

The Practice in the Courts of Law and Equity in Virginia. By Conway Robinson. Vol. III. Containing Practice in Criminal Causes; in Cases before Courts of Probate; and in other Cases wherein Appeals are demandable of Right, such as Mills, Roads, and the like. Richmond: Smith & Palmer.

Reports of Cases at Law, argued and determined in the Court of Appeals and Court of Errors of South Carolina, from Dec. 1838 to May, 1839, both inclusive. By William Rice, State Reporter. Vol. I. Charleston: Burgess and James.

A Treatise on the Law of Evidence. Fourth American from the Seventh London Edition. By S. March Phillips, Esq., Barrister at Law. In Two Volumes. With Notes to the First Volume, by Esek Cowen, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State of New

York ; assisted by Nicholas Hill, Jr., Counsellor at Law. New York : Gould & Banks. 8vo.

An Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, and for the more equal Distribution of their Effects ; passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, April 23d, 1838. With an Outline of the System thereby introduced, and Forms of Proceeding under the Same. By L. S. Cushing. Second Edition, revised and corrected. Boston : C. C. Little & James Brown. 12mo.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Remarks on the Operation for the Cure of Club Feet, with Cases. Also Letters to John C. Warren, M. D., on Curvature of the Spine. By John B. Brown, Member of the Mass. Med. Soc., &c. &c. Republished from the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal. 8vo. pp. 28.

An Account of the Yellow Fever, which appeared in the City of Galveston, Republic of Texas, in the Autumn of 1839, with Cases and Dissections. By Ashbel Smith, M. D., A. M., Ex-Surgeon General of the Texian Army. Galveston : Hamilton Stuart. 12mo. pp. 78.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Supplementary Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Mercantile Library Association ; comprising all those added from July, 1837, to January, 1840. New York : Printed for the Association.

Tariff, or Rates of Duties, payable on Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, imported into the United States of America on and after the First Day of January, 1840, until the Thirtieth Day of June, 1842, inclusive ; in Conformity with the Compromise Act. Also, the Rates of Duties imposed by the Tariff of 1832 ; together with many important Laws, Circulars, and Decisions of the Treasury Department, relating to Commerce and the Revenue, and much Useful Information to Merchants, Masters of Vessels, and Others. By E. B. Ogden, Entry Clerk, Custom House, Port of New York. New York : Bronson & Co. 8vo. pp. 144.

The Family Visiter. By John Hayward. Boston : Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 12mo. pp. 224.

Despotism in America ; or an Inquiry into the Nature and Results of the Slaveholding System in the United States. By the Author of "Archy Moore." Boston : Whipple & Damrell. 12mo. pp. 186.

A Treatise on Banking. By Condry Raguet, Esq., Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c. Philadelphia : Grigg & Elliott. 8vo. pp. 264.

Answers to the Questions, What constitutes Currency ? What are the Causes of Unsteadiness in the Currency ? and, What is the Remedy ? By H. C. Carey, Author of "Principles of Political Economy," "Credit System in France, Great Britain, and the United States," &c. Philadelphia : Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 81.

The Young Merchant. Philadelphia : R. W. Pomeroy. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Working Man. By Charles Quill, Author of "The American Mechanic." Philadelphia : Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 287.

Banks, Banking, and Paper Currencies ; in Three Parts. I. History of Banking and Paper Money. II. Argument for open Competition

in Banking. III. Apology for One Dollar Notes. By Richard Hildreth, Author of "Life of Harrison," &c. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 12mo. pp. 209.

A Letter to His Excellency Marcus Morton, on Banking and the Currency. By Richard Hildreth, Author of "Banks, Banking, and Paper Money," "Life of Harrison," &c. &c. Boston: Kidder & Wright. 8vo. pp. 16.

Strictures on Governor Morton's Message. By a Democrat. Second Edition. Boston: Cassady & March. 8vo. pp. 16.

A Plea for Liberty of Conscience and Freedom from Military Conscription. In Letters to Thomas Loring, Esq. By Joshua Wilder. Hingham: J. Farmer. 12mo. pp. 45.

The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties; its Pleasures and Rewards. Illustrated by Memoirs of Eminent Men. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 287 and 275.

Aids to Reflection, by S. T. Coleridge, with a Preliminary Essay, by James Marsh, D. D., from the Fourth London Edition, with the Author's last Corrections. Edited by Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. New York: Gould, Newman, and Saxton. 8vo. pp. 357.

A New Theory of the Steam Engine, and the Mode of Calculation, by Means of it, of the Effective Power, &c., of every kind of Steam-Engine, stationary or locomotive. By the Chevalier G. de Pambour. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 8vo. pp. 48.

Boston Journal of Natural History, containing Papers and Communications, read to the Boston Society of Natural History, and published by their Direction. Vol. III. Nos. 1, 2. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 280.

The Practical Farmer; or Spirit of the Boston Cultivator, containing a Collection of valuable Essays on Practical Agriculture, &c. By Wm. Buckminster. Boston: David H. Williams. 12mo. pp. 300.

Instructions for Field Artillery, Horse and Foot. Translated from the French and arranged for the Service of the United States, by Robert Anderson, Captain in the Staff, U. S. A. Philadelphia: W. P. Desilver.

A Missionary Chart; comprehending all the principal Protestant Missions in the World. By Jefferson Hascall and Daniel Wise. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.

The Traveller; or Wonders of Art. Vol. II. New York: Taylor & Dodd. 18mo. pp. 147.

White Slavery; a New Emancipation Case presented to the People of the United States. By the Author of "The District School as it was." Worcester: M. D. Phillips. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. and B. B. Mussey. 18mo. pp. 199.

The Parent's Friend; a Manual of Domestic Instruction and Discipline. By John Morrison, D. D., Author of "Counsels to a Newly Wedded Pair," &c. &c. With a Prefatory Address to Parents in America, by Samuel Hanson Cox, D. D. New York: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 172.

Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, May 29th, 1839; with the Report of the Librarian. Worcester: Printed for the Society. 8vo. pp. 32.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, for the Adjustment of International Disputes, and for the Promotion of Universal Peace without Resort to Arms. Together with a Sixth Essay, comprising the Substance of the Rejected Essays. Boston: Whipple & Damrell, for the American Peace Society. 8vo. pp. 706.

History and Progress of Phrenology. By R. W. Haskins, A. M. Buffalo: Steel & Peck. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 217.

Thoughts on the Laws, Government, and Morals. By a Citizen of Boston. Boston: Printed for the Author. 1840. 12mo. pp. 24.

Memorial of Edmund Pendleton Gaines to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled. Enquirer Office, Memphis, Tenn. 1840. 8vo. pp. 30.

An Hour's Conference with Fathers and Sons, in Relation to a Common and Fatal Indulgence of Youth. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 12mo. pp. 88.

Third Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Third Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 1840. 8vo. pp. 100.

Annual Report of the Board of Internal Improvement of the State of Kentucky. Communicated to the Legislature of Kentucky, Jan. 16th, 1840. Frankfort, Ky. A. G. Hodges. 1840. 8vo. pp. 136.

Seventh Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 1840. 8vo. pp. 102.

Remarks on Slavery and the Slave-Trade, addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay. By a Slaveholder. 1839. 8vo. pp. 23.

Answer of the Whig Members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, constituting a Majority of both Branches, to the Address of His Excellency, Marcus Morton, delivered in the Convention of the Two Houses, Jan. 22d, 1840. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 36.

A Letter to the Honorable Daniel Webster, on the Causes of the Destruction of the Steamer Lexington, as discovered in the Testimony before the Coroner's Jury in New York. By a Traveller. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 46.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Stories for the People. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 18mo.

Delusion; or the Witch of New England. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 160.

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